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May 6, 1946

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INFLATION

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Notice:

*Jerome Frank has written
a book for perplexed Americans*

POST-WAR adjustments are vast and difficult: there are too many questions and too few answers. The great potential tragedy of Our Time is that we may fall prey, in this crucial period, to the "scientific historians" who preach that there is no need for personal concern for the country, for we are the Slaves of Fate; that Conditions and Times always produce leadership in time, and circumstances always, in the end, light the way to progress. So (they say) we can sit on our hands and wait for Providence.

SHALL WE "LEAVE IT TO DESTINY?"

Jerome Frank, distinguished as a lawyer, public servant and writer, provides in **FATE AND FREEDOM** an antidote for those who would have us leave it all to destiny. Far more than an essay on Freedom, Mr. Frank's book is a frame for constructive individual thinking; a foundation for understanding the responsibilities of free men in a free democratic nation. Because of its clarity and honesty, it has been hailed by thoughtful reviewers as "a book of outstanding importance"; "stimulating, exhilarating mental exercise"; "important for people who really believe in freedom of the spirit of man"; a book that "displays a buoyant optimism and a confidence in man's capacity to determine his own fate."*

TWIN ENEMIES:

FATALISM AND HISTORICAL BUNK

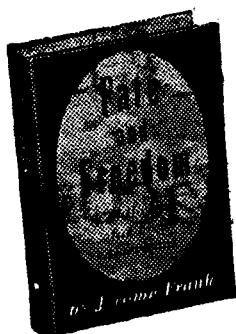
In **FATE AND FREEDOM** you will find a

sharp warning against drifting into fatalism, a conception championed by historians who preach that "men are powerless to shape their future, that the fate of nations is wholly predestined, that human aims and purposes are mere delusions; that the good old American beliefs in purposeful striving, in inventiveness, in steadfast will, in the power of human beings to affect their destinies" are all wrong.

You will find, too, a sharp rebuke to those who prophesy the future on the basis of history—a premise described not only as bunk, but dangerous bunk, because "history is largely a collection of 'just so' stories" in which historians too freely interpret with logic and imagination all the things for which they have no facts.

THERE'S A FUTURE IN FREEDOM

Through sixteen intensely interesting chapters and seven fact-burdened appendices, Jerome Frank proves that an optimistic belief in freedom makes for a fuller, better life. "Fate worship", he says, "is to us slow poison. It is against the American grain. It counteracts those beliefs on which American civilization was founded and which alone can fully energize Americans today—ideas of self reliance, of the future as a provocative adventure full of risks and hazards to overcome and not as a journey with an assured destination underwritten by Providence." **FATE AND FREEDOM** is truly a book for today, a book for thinking Americans who recognize an individual responsibility to help get themselves and America back on the track.



"THIS IS A BRILLIANT BOOK—INDISPENSABLE
READING IN THESE TIMES" says Dr. John Haynes Holmes

Fate and Freedom

By **JEROME FRANK**

\$3.00 at all bookstores or sent promptly C.O.D. if you will send your name and address to #6, SIMON AND SCHUSTER, 1230 SIXTH AVENUE, NEW YORK CITY

*from the reviews of Walton Hamilton in the *New Republic*; Walter P. Armstrong in the *American Bar Association Journal*; Morris Ernst; *The New York Herald Tribune*

THE NEW REPUBLIC

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Inflation and Your Pocketbook

THE AMERICAN PEOPLE are confronted by a disaster of the first magnitude. If the OPA is destroyed or seriously crippled—a result which a powerful segment of Congress is now trying to bring about—unbridled inflation will grip this country almost overnight. Some of the opponents of the OPA know this, and are willing to take the risk because they think they can personally profit from such a situation. Others misguidedly believe that taking off controls will mean a spurt in production and that competition will then serve to hold prices down.

But in fact, nothing of the kind will happen. If prices go up 30, 50 or 100 percent, the country will see an immediate epidemic of strikes far worse than those which followed V-J Day. Manufacturers will be unable to buy raw materials. Consumers, who cannot

increase their incomes to keep up with rising prices, will be forced to refrain from buying. It might take years for us to get back to the level of production we already have.

What will happen to prices? An OPA regional director points out that if prices go up as much as they did in the inflation of 1920, sugar will cost 27 cents a pound, bacon 58 cents, eggs 92 cents a dozen, gasoline 34 cents a gallon.

But there is no guarantee that increases would be this moderate. Many food prices would immediately go up 75 or 100 percent. You might then see milk at 36 cents a quart, butter \$1.20 a pound, bacon 84 cents, eggs \$1.10 a dozen, bread 25 cents a loaf.

Paul Porter, OPA Administrator, sums it up in his statement elsewhere on this page. A doubling of prices

IF PRICE CONTROL GOES

Let's look at the situation which would face a typical American family next year if the Congress were to take off all controls now or if, as a result of weakening amendments, the whole structure of controls should collapse. Let us examine the budget of a family which is spending \$2,500 a year and see what would happen to it if the inflation approached 40 percent in the next twelve months.

The typical budget for such a family [at present] will run something like this: food, \$1,000; clothing, \$350; rent, \$500; other goods and services, \$650.

From experience both in this war before price control began and in the last war after the Armistice, it is reasonable to say that the termination or crippling of price control would lead to a 25-percent increase in food prices by the end of a year. In view of the current tightness of the clothing situation, it is likely that clothing costing \$350 at the beginning of the year would jump to at least \$500 in twelve months without price control. In rents, as everyone knows, the situation is tighter still. After the last war, when pressures were far weaker, rents climbed by more than 50 percent. A prediction of a similar increase, if rent controls were ripped off now, is

conservative. Other prices, of course, would go up. The \$650 allocated to miscellaneous articles and services might easily rise by \$300 in the course of a year.

At the year's end our typical family would have to spend at the rate of \$250 more a year for food, \$150 more for clothing, \$250 more for rent, and \$300 more for miscellaneous goods and services, if it were to maintain its standard of living unimpaired. What had cost \$2,500 when the year began would cost \$3,450 at its close.

Nor would the family's troubles end there. We cannot assume that the boom would collapse in a single year as it did last time. The rise in prices might well continue. As they moved up to levels 75 and 100 percent above current prices, the purchasing power of the dollars that American families have put into war bonds, insurance policies and other forms of savings would continue to fall. If present prices doubled, the things which a dollar brought on September 1, 1939, would cost \$2.60. To put it another way, the dollar's 1939 purchasing power would have shrunk to 38 cents.—*From a statement by OPA Administrator Paul Porter to the Senate Banking and Currency Committee, April 17, 1946.*

—and they might increase far more than that—means the 1939 dollar will have shrunk to 38 cents.

If the Senate should vote for the version of the bill that has already passed the House, there would be an immediate loss of control on meat, milk, coal, shoes, wool and rayon fabrics and other textiles, metal and rubber goods, leather and glass, automobiles, electric refrigerators, radios and hundreds of other items. The nation's bill for new automobiles would go up \$500 million annually. As for the possible increase in rent, the sky is the limit.

Since the wrecking party in the House, Congress has had many letters and telegrams from consumers

protesting against this policy of cold-blooded murder of the national welfare. But the fight is not yet over. We dare not risk a repetition of the boom and bust in 1920, when 5,500,000 workers lost their jobs, 500,000 farmers lost their farms, 100,000 firms went bankrupt, \$16 billion was lost in inventories and \$44 billion out of pay checks. The demonstration of the anger of the American people, their insistence on being protected, must continue. Write or telegraph your Senator. Write or telegraph the Senate Banking and Currency Committee. Get your friends and neighbors to do the same, jointly or as individuals. *This is a fight for your home.*

Feed Cattle, Starve Children

ANY BELIEF that the extent of our failure to provide a famine relief was being exaggerated should have been completely dispelled by last week's report on grain stocks.

Stated simply, we have gorged our own cattle or consumed the wheat ourselves while the world is starving.

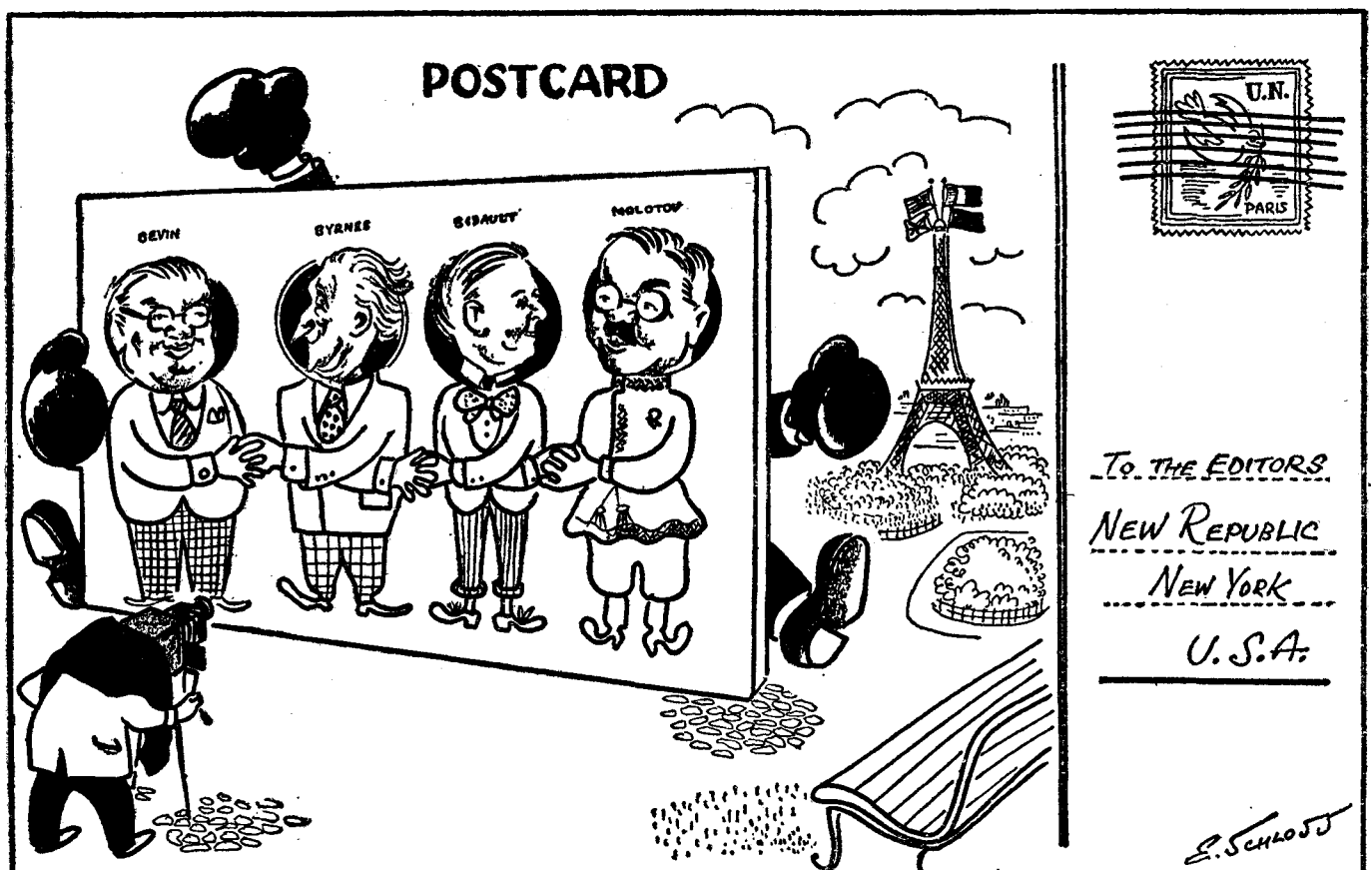
We have failed miserably in meeting our commitments to UNRRA. Like a greedy child, we have stuffed ourselves so that we can turn to the world with our mouths full and say:

"See, we really don't have so very much wheat after all."

From January 1 to April 25 we fell behind 512,000 tons in our commitments to UNRRA. The outlook for

May is equally bad, or worse. At the same time we are told by the Combined Food Board that unless shipments are increased immediately there will be a breakdown of rationing in the starving countries which will bring chaos. The Department of Agriculture adds the final word: it says it is "almost impossible" for us to meet present commitments.

With Secretary Anderson, UNRRA Director General Fiorello H. LaGuardia has gone into the rich wheat country of the West and Northwest to plead for grain. Some success is indicated, for it is probably the first time the farmers there have been made to realize the true problem. Americans are not selfish, but they are skeptical. When a need is driven home to them



they will respond, but driving it home must be a real job.

The tons of grain given by the farmers of the Red River Valley and other areas in answer to personal appeals is tangible evidence of potential response to a straightforward, unequivocating conservation program.

Our people must be told that the world's hunger is going to be a continuing situation for years, not a question of four or six months; that while grains and fats and oils are the most critical needs, they are not the only ones.

Children from six to eighteen years are the greatest victims of protein insufficiencies which can be offset by evaporated milk, powdered whole milk, and cheese. The United States is the greatest present source of those dairy products, but our dairy herds are now decreasing. To feed the world's hungry children we should be stockpiling now for next fall and winter, when the need will be greatest. Instead, much of our great butterfat supply has been going to such luxury foods as ice cream and whipping cream.

At a meeting of food leaders in New York recently, Harold Weston, director of Food for Freedom, declared:

The spoons of our own children, busily taking up record amounts of ice cream in this country, are unconsciously digging the graves for many of the millions of hungry children throughout the world.

An effort to bring national support to a program of food controls will be made at a conference scheduled for May 22 in Washington. Food for Freedom is to be commended for taking a lead in calling the meeting, which will be held while the official Food and Agricultural Organization conference is in session. The first of these, it is hoped, will reflect, through the millions of citizens represented by national civic organizations, the country's determination for positive action to halt the march of world famine.

Palestine Reopened

The Report of the Anglo-American Committee of Inquiry on Palestine will apparently be a constructive but indecisive document. According to current information, it will recommend: repudiation of the British White Paper of 1939 as illegal and misguided; permission for about 100,000 Jewish displaced persons to enter Palestine in 1946; establishment of greater—but not complete—Jewish freedom of land purchase in Palestine; and provision for continuing Jewish immigration into Palestine.

Disagreement in the committee prevented any recommendation on the "final" political solution. This is fortunate. A solution that is both just and final seems beyond human power for the next few years. No final determination of the political status of Palestine should be attempted until the Jews have been given a chance—at least for a few years and under an

MR. RANKIN EXPLAINS IT

Mr. Chairman, I am in favor of striking out the enacting clause and sending this bill [continuing the OPA] back to the Committee on Banking and Currency in order that they may take some notice of the fact that you can never regulate prices in this country without taking into consideration the circulating medium.

In my opinion, the OPA is practising totalitarianism at its worst. If you do not want to have the dictatorship of the OPA on the necks of the American people from now on, now is the time to say so. . . .

I know you get pressure from the CIO-PAC, that communistic organization that is now carrying on a subversive campaign to try to get control of Congress. If Congress will stop this OPA now . . . you will have uniform prosperity. You will have liberty and freedom from this totalitarian regimentation. — *Representative John E. Rankin (D, Miss.), speaking in the House, April 17.*

actively helpful trusteeship—to show that they can so develop the country economically as to make possible the absorption of new immigrants. Even then a good many years must pass before Arab and Jewish sympathies and manners of life have converged enough to justify the relinquishment of *all* special United Nations authority in Palestine.

Pacifists Can Be Citizens

In ruling that alien conscientious objectors may be granted naturalization, the Supreme Court has again reversed itself in favor of increased civil liberties.

In doing so, the Court has also upheld another of the most famous dissents of Mr. Justice Oliver Wendell Holmes—that in the Rosika Schwimmer case. Some 16 years ago, the noted Hungarian pacifist was refused her citizenship application because she would not say that she would bear arms in the country's defense. The case caused a great stir in those days, when the mood was being set for the Oxford Pledge and other expressions of pacifism. Mr. Justice Holmes added another laurel to his great liberal reputation when he spoke out against the majority.

In the present case, a Canadian—James Louis Girouard—protested that, as a member of the Seventh Day Adventist Church, he could not take up arms. He did, however, agree to serve as a noncombatant in the armed forces. A lower court upheld his request for citizenship, but the federal circuit court at Boston denied it. Former Attorney General Homer Cummings argued Girouard's case in the high court.

The implications of the decision may be far-reaching. It is bound to influence persistent efforts to stigmatize conscientious objectors as degenerate and immoral persons who should be denied rights granted other

citizens. It also narrows the idea that citizenship may be denied for various arbitrary reasons. The Supreme Court has acted wisely. Its decision is a victory in the battle for free thought.

The Philippine Elections

Because he seemed to have the support of the agrarian reform and anti-collaborationist elements in the Philippines, most liberals in the United States had hoped for the reelection of President Sergio Osmena. But Manuel Roxas, a younger, more brilliant and much more vigorous man, has been chosen to succeed him, in an election marked by bloodshed and such tension that the winning candidate immediately went into hiding to avoid what his supporters declared was a threatened kidnaping. The close vote indicated a sizable increase in the strength of the reform forces.

Roxas, who will guide the destinies of the world's youngest republic when it is inaugurated on July 4, remained in the Philippines during the Japanese occupation, although General MacArthur gave him several chances to escape. Although he was quickly cleared of collaborationist charges, following MacArthur's return to Luzon, reports have persisted that Roxas was a collaborationist, and in the election just concluded he did have the support of the majority of the other men who maintained their official positions during the Japanese tenure at Manila. Roxas, his faction of the Nacionalista Party and the new Congress must remain for American liberals under suspicion until it can be seen whether he intends to undertake the many overdue reforms needed in the Islands, particularly those concerned with the feudal land system, which has persisted there since the days of the Spaniards.

Peron and Uruguay

A NEW AND dangerous type of fascism is coming into full bloom in Argentina. It is fascism with new refinements—new appeals to labor in the form of wage bonuses and nationalization of the banks—appeals so effective that the Argentine people were seduced by it into electing Colonel Juan Peron to the presidency for six long years.

But Peronism is none the less dangerous for its modern trimmings. Right now it is putting the squeeze on tiny Uruguay, one of the chief strongholds of democracy in Latin America. Peron's spokesmen have their guns trained primarily on Foreign Minister Rodriguez Larreta, author of the Uruguay proposal for multilateral opposition to fascism in the Americas, who is called a "puppet of Yankee imperialism." Already two Uruguayan cabinet ministers have resigned, and Larreta and other members of the liberal Colorado Party government are under severe pressure. Argentina has abrogated the radio-wave-length treaty

between the two countries, apparently in preparation for a radio campaign to elect the pro-Nazi, pro-Peron Blanco Party to office next November.

The Argentine war of nerves also takes the form of economic sanctions which amount to unilateral intervention. Since January, Argentina has been interfering with tourist travel to Uruguay, and she threatens further to impair this important source of national income by requiring passports. She has held up shipments of salt which are badly needed by Uruguay's packing industry. Now she is refusing to ship 50,000 tons of wheat, despite previous promises to do so, and Uruguay is threatened with bread rationing and hunger unless shipments from the United States plug the gap.

The Peron regime is making a gallery play for world good will by promising to ship wheat to famine-stricken Europe. But at last reports only 120,000 tons of a 300,000-ton commitment had been sent, and this at high prices. A large shipment of wheat which France had bought and paid for was recently requisitioned by the Argentine government and then offered to the French again at a 50-percent increase in price. A shipment of 25,000 tons of grain was sent to Belgium in return for a shipment of explosives, and another to Brazil in exchange for rubber—and, presumably, political good will.

Peron's long-range plans are known to call for an anti-United States bloc in South America. With Paraguay and Bolivia already under control, and Chile and Uruguay next on the list, he hopes to bring Brazil and other countries into line. Meanwhile the Argentine consul-general in New York City has revealed that Peron plans to build Argentina's population to 40 million by encouraging immigration over a long period. Typical fascist methods go on: the state of siege was lifted on election day and then clamped down again. Nazi refugees continue to be protected in Argentina.

We have modified our policy slightly since the election. Secretary of State Byrnes has stated that we will consider negotiating a hemispheric defense pact including Argentina, provided she first expels the Nazis within her borders. Beyond this we cannot go without abandoning all hope of extending democratic principles in Latin America.

What we need to do now is to strengthen our Argentine policy in certain respects. As Senator Kilgore (D, W. Va.) has suggested, we should ask the Allied Control Council in Berlin to demand the repatriation of dangerous Nazis still at large in Argentina—an action which should have been taken six months ago. Until this is done, it would be folly even to consider hemispheric defense negotiations, which, under the terms of the Act of Chapultepec, would provide for exchanges of arms and military information.

Further, we should give full aid to Uruguay and other countries threatened by Peron, in the form of wheat and other supplies and, if necessary, military aid. To appease Peron by making another Czechoslovakia out of Uruguay would be to forfeit whatever amount of good will we still have in Latin America as a whole.

Our basic need is for a more dynamic foreign policy in this hemisphere. Make no mistake: Peronism has a powerful appeal to the little people of South America. It is superficially glamorous, and it promises better living standards, even though it does not provide them. It can only be countered by effective aid, economic and political, to the democracies.

Who Fights Aid to Britain?

THE ATTITUDE of certain members of Congress on the British financial agreement seems at first glance a puzzling one. There is no national organized opposition to this agreement. In fact all labor, business and farm groups which have spoken on the matter have been solidly for it. Yet there is enough opposition in Congress to make its approval a matter of extreme doubt.

It seems perplexing, but the answer is all too apparent. It is simply that there is enough individual isolationism in Congress, as there is in the country, to present a serious threat to those seeking to put the world back on a sound economic basis.

This financial agreement warrants close examination. To call it simply a "loan" is a misnomer. During the first and second phases of the war of our century, commonly called World Wars I and II, Britain, in her bitter struggle for survival, was forced to adopt certain restrictive trade practices. These led to the creation of the sterling area and the blocked sterling accounts.

This system, which now prevails, means simply that a great number of countries trading with the United Kingdom receive payment for the goods they sell to Britain in pounds sterling, which are not convertible into dollars or into any other currency. These countries are therefore compelled to do their purchasing in or through Britain, since their credit is worthless elsewhere. Britain was forced to adopt this system because she was faced with a critical shortage of dollars and had to control the use of dollar credit in order to spend it only on vitally needed war supplies obtainable nowhere but in the United States.

The system has worked pretty well, and Britain could probably continue it. Countries in the sterling pool are willing partners because Britain, the greatest single trader in the international realm of things, is usually their best customer, present or potential.

But the more forward-looking people in Britain

PARTY DISCIPLINE

Unless a member of the majority party in Congress votes in favor of major issues upon which he and other members of his party were elected, the legislative branch of our government ceases to function.

New issues arise from time to time upon which parties have not taken stands in their platforms. When an important new issue arises, if the President, the president *pro tem* of the Senate, the Speaker of the House, the majority leaders in the Senate and House, and a party caucus agree upon it, the members of the majority party in Congress should, when the issue is up for a vote in Congress, be governed by such majority agreement.

A congressman who is against his party's program should not expect his party to make him chairman of a committee which has the power of life or death over legislation sponsored by his party. — *Secretary Wallace, speaking at a dinner of the National Citizens' Political Action Committee in San Francisco, April 22.*

realize that in the discontinuance of such economic restrictions and the restoration of free world trade lies the best hope for true international coöperation and the prevention of World War III.

Although there was some opposition in Parliament, as there is in this country, Britain has officially agreed to drop these trade practices. But in order to do so she must, obviously, have dollars. The amount has been set at \$3,750 million, to be used during the next five years to buy goods mainly from this country, which she must have to revitalize her industries. Repayment, at a nominal two-percent interest, postponed in case of a world depression, is to be made over the next 50 years.

This represents a smaller sum than Britain originally asked. The shrewd bargainer and multi-millionaire cotton trader, Will Clayton, declares it is the absolute minimum which Britain must have to get back into competitive world trade.

The people of Britain want to do this. The people of this country want them to do it. But Congress, as on many other occasions, seems about to thwart the will of the people. The House Banking and Currency Committee, which must handle the matter in the lower chamber, has not even held any hearings on it. Opponents, using the familiar delaying tactics, are sure to demand extended debate. There seems little, if any, chance of House action before election-conscious congressmen decide to pull out to fight for their jobs in the forthcoming campaigns. And the result may be disaster—for Britain, for ourselves, for the world.

Washington Wire

Bilbo on Display

DOWN BELOW YOU, as you look from the gallery, Bilbo is talking about the British loan—Bilbo is “defending” the Senate. It seems *Life* magazine has appraised 32 Senators up for reelection and called him the worst man in the chamber. So Bilbo is being funny. Other Senators walk about uneasily with self-conscious smiles; girls in the press gallery giggle hysterically as Bilbo calls himself “the nigger’s best friend.” Representative Rankin has come over from the House to see the fun. All the newspapers tomorrow will treat this as a great joke. Bilbo attacks “Papa and Mama Luce,” and that is funny, isn’t it? He is ingenious in bringing in all his phobias: references to Catholics in connection with Mrs. Luce; the “communism” of *Life* magazine, because it attacks high-ranking officials (Bilbo); the charge that the Luces are “nigger-lovers,” because their magazine prints photographs of stage hits about Negro life.

There is something ignoble and contaminating in the scene, like listening to a buffoon making nasty jokes. Why doesn’t somebody get up and answer him, you ask; why doesn’t somebody redeem the dignity of the Senate, of America, by crying out upon him? Nobody does; “senatorial courtesy,” you know. Bilbo sits down. . . . You go out to the men’s room and wash your hands.

The Administration probably has enough votes in the Senate to put the loan through, but a narrow margin would be almost as bad as defeat. That is because there is more opposition to the loan in the House than the Senate, and the psychological effect of a big majority in the Senate is almost necessary to get it through the lower chamber. There is danger of postponement. The curious thing is that, on April 10, the Senate committee favorably reported the loan with a thumping majority, 14 to 5. All danger seemed past. But since then the outlook has definitely darkened. What has happened? Nothing that bears directly on the loan. But the pressures tending to postwar confusion and irresponsibility in America’s approach to domestic and international affairs have been coming closer to the climax toward which they seem heading. The big revolt of Congress against the Administration is continuing, reflecting a growing mood to throw off war disciplines and restraints, and with this goes the temptation to lighten the burden of responsibilities abroad. The fate of the loan is a good barometer of what America really means to do in world affairs.

I listened to Senator Taft’s attack on the loan. Taft looks so wise, so solemn, so reasonable, he talks statistics so glibly, his references are so perfect and cross-citations to financial international dealings so apt, that it seems impossible to refute him. And yet what he says is often plain silly. Few men have such a knack for figures and such an inability to use them right. According to Taft, America is making available to foreign countries in one

year “\$21 billion,” a preposterous estimate; in the same speech he said (a), Britain probably couldn’t repay the loan and (b), “the condition of Great Britain today is not so serious as the advocates of this loan claim.” Obviously one statement or the other is wrong.

Taft’s speech was really in answer to Vandenberg’s, made earlier in the same week. These two men are fighting for the soul of the Republican Party on international affairs. Vandenberg supports the loan but he has gone to Paris with Byrnes just when his personal influence would be strongest on wavering GOP Senators. There was no doubt that Taft’s speech was effective. He proposed an outright “gift” to the British of \$1,250 million, as a substitute for the loan. There are few better devices for defeating something you don’t like than to offer a reasonable-sounding alternative that confuses or divides your opponents. Taft has done this before. The “gift” proposal has little or no chance in Congress.

It’s nice to think how happy the crippling House amendments to the OPA made N. Y. *Times* financial writers. I counted five articles of rejoicing in two days, let alone unsigned editorial hallelujahs. On April 21 the *Times*’ own headline on Mr. Krock’s column summarized his view: “Members of House Feel Public Backs OPA Vote.” In the same issue, financial writer John G. Forrest concluded “consumers and businessmen alike” will feel “welcome relief.” Financial writer C. F. Hughes quoted “business quarters” as minimizing possible inflationary sequels. Thomas F. Conroy used ironic quotation marks in referring to “so-called ‘drastic’ amendments” to the OPA, and noted gloomily that in spite of the public’s “huge spendable funds” and big backlog of demand, “some instances of complaint against high prices are already being noted.” Shows how unreasonable folks are, Mr. Conroy! Henry Hazlitt, another *Times* financial man, polished it off next day by explaining the whole trouble with the OPA was that it appealed to “the consumer’s immediate interest against his long-run interest.”

Curiously enough, none of these estimable writers mentioned one little item—the \$395,850 which the NAM now acknowledges it spent lobbying against the OPA. One thing you can’t say about the NAM, it doesn’t appeal to the “consumer’s immediate interest against his long-run interest.”

Notes.—Diplomatic dispatches indicate Moscow is proving more conciliatory in several quarters and greater hope of harmony is seen, with possibly an important new Soviet policy line. . . . Charles E. Wilson, president of General Electric, announced the nine weeks’ strike cost the company a net loss of \$13,700,000 and, according to the AP, “estimated federal income and excess-profits taxes would be reduced thereby \$10,000,000.” . . . This illustrates how the carry-back feature of the tax law reimburses management for strikes. . . . OPA protest letters to Congress are terrific, looks as though we might have some new faces in Washington next fall. . . . Hillman’s National Citizens’ Political Action Committee and Ickes’ Independent Citizens’ Committee are exploring means for joint efforts in the coming election.

Washington

T. R. B.

Political Roundup

How Stassen Is Doing It

THE FORMER Willkie supporters in Wall Street who are now backing Harold Stassen for President in 1948 have already raised a sizable war chest. Current estimates are that William Vanderbilt, former Governor of Rhode Island, John Hanes and others have raised \$4 million-odd for immediate use. It is said that those who speculated on Willkie in '44 figure that their mistake was in coming in too late, after the state organizations had been captured by earlier investors of the Pew-duPont stripe, and they intend to correct that error this time. Funds are to be made available to Stassen chiefs around the country in time to stake them to a real try for control of the state delegations to the '48 Republican convention. Present indications are that there should be plenty of money available.

How well this investment will pay off depends almost entirely on the caliber of the state leaders Stassen employs. As yet, these staff chiefs have been selected for less than a handful of states. One thing is clear: the Republican Open Forums Stassen has organized to build tangible support for the ideas in his program will be a separate operation from his top political-staff organization. It is to be left to the young folks to run and finance—at least for the present, until things get really serious.

As yet, there is only a sprinkling of avowed "Stassen candidates" for Congress over the country. Two Stassenites who tried to win congressional nominations in Illinois already head the list of casualties.

Iowa.—The Republican primary election for the governorship is a clear Stassen v. the Old Guard contest. Governor Robert Blue, who is seeking a second term, is best classified as a follower of the Bob Taft school of Republicanism. Former General George Olmsted, veteran of the China Theatre and before that of the Young Republicans, is a Stassen man who is attempting to rout Blue with an incessant factual barrage. He is attacking Blue with a whole series of well aimed questions about the Governor's record on issue after issue. What has he done about reconversion? Housing? Reducing taxes? Veterans' problems?

"The spirited and good-natured Olmsted," the Burlington *Hawkeye Gazette* states in reporting this procedure, "is employing one of the most deadly types of political ammunition there is. . . . [These questions] are charged with dynamite because Blue is vulnerable on many of them. Blue's policy has been such a wishy-washy one that he has not taken a firm public stand on many matters."

Olmsted has against him a long Iowa tradition of reelecting its Governors to a second term if they wish. State Republican Chairman Willis York, a former Willkie supporter, has not committed himself thus far, and more than 60 percent of the Republican organization seems clearly pleased with the status quo. But regardless of Olmsted's prospects in the present Iowa race, the technique he

is using can become a highly effective one for Stassenites to use in many other places, if the organization is smart enough to see its power.

North Carolina.—John M. Hanes, the former Democrat whom Stassen recently backed for Republican National Chairman, is supporting the next best thing to a Republican for Congress from the Fifth District of his home state, North Carolina—his brother-in-law, Thurmond Chatham. Chatham, of the wealthy Chatham blankets and textile family, was a leader and financial backer in the anti-Roosevelt organization in North Carolina during the last campaign. Representative John H. Folger, whom he is trying to unseat, has worked hard to represent the average man in the district during his term and, as the latest *New Republic* chart of congressional voting records (March 11) reveals, has one of the best New Deal records in the Southern delegation.

Florida.—Representative Pat Cannon, known first for his conservatism and second for his absenteeism during roll-call votes, faces heavy opposition this summer. Endorsed by Senator Claude Pepper, an ex-Marine named George Smathers, a young lawyer with a combat record in the South Pacific, who was special assistant to Attorney General Tom Clark before he entered the race, is rapidly gaining support. He has plenty of ammunition to fire at Cannon, who was absent more times than any other member of the Florida delegation on the 31 roll-call votes taken this year, and is one of the 27 Representatives in the whole Congress who did not vote more than 50 percent of the time.

Minnesota.—Minnesota liberals think they will damage the Stassen machine in that state enough this year to finish it off in 1948. These are some of the factors which lead them to this optimistic conclusion. The right wing of the old Farmer-Labor organization is taking a super-sophisticated course: they plan to go into the Republican instead of the Democratic primaries this year and support their life-long enemy, Senator Henrik Shipstead, for the Republican nomination. Reason: they see Shipstead as a much easier victim in November for the Democratic choice, Theodore Jorgenson, than Governor Thye, Stassen's candidate for the Senate. Jorgenson, Thye and W. F. Schilling, another Republican candidate for the Senate who is presumed to be a stalking-horse to draw votes from Shipstead, all come from the small town of Northfield. Several weeks ago, a poll taken by the Cowles newspapers, which vigorously support the Stassen slate, showed candidate Thye running three to one ahead of all the other candidates. The Democrat-Farmer-Labor forces claim that Cowles has been in no hurry to publish the results of the most recent poll, which, they say, shows Thye back at even odds with the field.

Stassen will not be doing as much speaking on behalf of his friend Thye as had been expected. Minnesotans don't like their representatives, state or national, picked for them, and Thye, smart enough to know this, is discouraging his backer from too frequent appearances in the state. The same goes for Senator Joseph Ball. But don't believe anything you hear about a real split between Stassen and Ball. It is still "Harold and Joe," regardless.

The Power Lobby Is Back

by Carroll Kilpatrick

THE STORM WARNINGS are out in Washington. Seldom if ever before have the lobbyists swarmed so thickly, and never before have they been so well financed. Everyone has heard about the real-estate lobby against the Wyatt housing program and the assorted commodity lobbies fighting the price-stabilization program. But not many persons even in Washington have heard about the electric-power lobby—a direct descendant of Samuel Insull.

The power lobby's purpose is to whittle away at public-power projects and public-power agencies and to prevent the development of additional river-valley and power authorities. Agencies like the TVA, the Federal Power Commission, the Securities and Exchange Commission, the power division of the Department of the Interior and the Rural Electrification Administration are its chief targets. Unfortunately, there is neither a Norris in the Senate nor a Roosevelt in the White House to lead the fight against the lobby.

The most effective critic to date has been Speaker of the House Sam Rayburn. "This town, for the past six months, has been seething with utility lobbyists," he said the other day on one of the rare occasions when he leaves the Speaker's chair and speaks in the well of the House. "I had a brush with these people in 1935," he added. "If they are spoiling for another fight with me, as far as I am concerned they can get it, because I am just one man who is not afraid of them . . . I have already had my fight with them."

Chief director of the power lobby is Purcell L. Smith, a \$65,000-a-year official here who was once an Insull man in Chicago. Smith was vice-president and treasurer of the Insull-dominated Illinois Power and Light Corporation and the North American Light and Power Company before the great crash. Later he became president of the original Insull holding company—the Middle West Corporation. He resigned his \$60,000-a-year job with Middle West last summer to become director of the newly formed National Association of Electric Companies, organized in August by 104 electric companies representing about 60 percent of the electric-utility industry. The National Association of Electric Companies is the coordinating organization for the power lobby.

Smith has a three-year contract, subject to renewal, at \$65,000 a year. If it is not renewed he is guaranteed \$50,000 for an additional seven years. While no one knows how much money he has at his disposal,

Representative Savage (D., Wash.) recently told the House that Smith and his associates "are spending hundreds of thousands of dollars a year influencing legislation." The lobby's influence is felt in Congress, in newspapers, magazines, books, on the radio and in state legislatures.

"I look upon my status like that of a football coach," Smith said recently. "I advise the independent companies, assist them in preparing exhibits, documents and testimony before congressional committees." Smith himself is seldom seen on Capitol Hill. So far he has let the presidents and vice-presidents of interested companies talk for the record.

SMITH's National Association of Electric Companies is the most important of the utility lobbies. One of them is the National Resources Department of the Chamber of Commerce of the United States. Headed by former Governor Ralph L. Carr of Colorado, it is more a propaganda than a lobby outfit. Then there are two organizations with smooth-sounding names that play the utility game for all it is worth: the Mississippi Valley Association, headed by an old-time enemy of public power, Lachlan Macleay; and the National Reclamation Association, which operates primarily in the Northwestern states. John L. Lewis' United Mine Workers prints scores of attacks on the TVA, the proposed St. Lawrence Seaway and Power Project and what it calls other "socialized power programs." Also, the American Farm Bureau Federation, despite the fact that many of its state bureaus support the TVA, MVA and CVA, frequently gives aid and comfort to the electric-power lobby.

There has been no exhaustive study of the lobby for the simple reason that it is too big for anything but a congressional committee. Moreover, the new lobby is largely a postwar, post-Roosevelt creation despite the fact that its roots go back to the Insull-dominated National Electric Light Association, which was forced to shut up shop in 1933 after its lobbying activities had been exposed by Congress and the Federal Trade Commission.

The day after Speaker Rayburn let go his blast at the lobby, Representative Sabath (D, Ill.) introduced a resolution which called for a special investigating committee. But the Rules Committee, under the leadership of Representative Smith (D, Va.), scuttled the resolution. Smith said that he had not been aware there were any lobbyists at work these days except those who speak for the "bureaucrats." But he may only have been fooling. Smith is one of Virginia's most successful

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real-estate operators, and the Sabbath resolution would have directed the proposed committee to make a special investigation of "groups which have been, or are, engaged in the present propaganda campaign or lobby to defeat legislative measures for the relief of the acute housing shortage."

WITH BOTH Roosevelt and Norris dead, the private companies are out to recapture the lush days before the New Deal. They see the growth of collectivism throughout the world and they see it as a direct threat to their monopolies. The sedate Edison Electric Institute, which has been the chief propaganda organization, and the Council of Electric Operating Companies, which sponsors Nelson Eddy and the electric-hour radio broadcast on Sunday afternoons, were not sufficient to satisfy those in the industry who wanted to lead an immediate attack on the power of government.

Representative Boren (D, Okla.), a faithful friend of the private utilities, has been leader of the fight to amend the Holding Company Act, which prevents the pyramiding of electric utilities. Boren is also the man who places speeches by Purcell Smith in the *Congressional Record*. Since last July, under Boren's chairmanship, a subcommittee of the House Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee has been holding hearings on proposals to amend the Holding Company Act. The hearings have not been concluded, and no amendments have been formally proposed, but dozens of utility witnesses have been heard. Ganson Purcell, chairman of the SEC, told the committee that the changes proposed by utility witnesses "reach substantially every provision in the statute" and that their combined effect would be to remove or restrict every important regulatory provision of the statute and substantially to destroy its effectiveness as a regulatory measure.

Perhaps the most insistent attacks have been made against the REA. Frank M. Wilkes of Shreveport, Louisiana, president of Southwestern Gas and Electric Company and one of the sponsors of Purcell Smith's National Association of Electric Companies, has been leading the fight against the REA—and also against the Southwest Power Authority. After appearing before a congressional committee to ask that the REA's teeth be pulled, Wilkes wrote Claude R. Wickard, REA administrator, offering to withdraw utility-company opposition to REA legislation if Wickard would agree to divide up certain parts of the country for purposes of power sales. (One of the witnesses against the REA was that same Representative Boren who started the investigation of the SEC.)

Early this year, while no one was looking, Senator Gurney (R, S. D.) slipped an amendment into an appropriation bill in a closed session of the Senate Appropriations Committee which would have stalled the REA's program. The Gurney amendment would have prevented the REA from making loans for the construc-

tion of generating plants unless the Federal Power Commission should first certify that there "is not sufficient electric current available in the area concerned at reasonable rates." When the amendment was discovered, a concerted fight was made against it, led by Senators Magnuson (D, Wash.), La Follette (Prog., Wis.) and Aiken (R, Vt.). It was defeated 52 to 21. The power lobby had tried to pull a fast one and been caught—the first such bold attempt since the war.

New Republic readers are familiar with the literature against the TVA published by the Chamber of Commerce, by Frederick L. Collins and by Edwin Vennard, vice-president of the Middle West Service Company, a wholly owned subsidiary of Middle West Corporation. But the fight by 11 Southwestern power companies to block the full utilization of government-owned power projects in the Southwestern states is not so well known. This fight may result in one of the year's most important anti-trust suits by the Department of Justice.

Frank M. Wilkes is the leading spirit in the fight. Speaking for 11 companies, he offered to buy from the Department of the Interior, whose power division has authority over the development, all electric energy generated in the area. Wilkes and associates have been in Washington lately, however, trying to see that no additional power be developed in the area. It was their testimony before the House Appropriations Committee that prompted Speaker Rayburn's speech against the power lobby.

The power companies, of course, are chiefly interested in preventing the development of the Missouri and Columbia River Valley Authorities and the St. Lawrence Seaway and Power Project. During hearings on the MVA, Leon Bloch and Associates, a Washington publicity agency, handled most of the statements of the opposition witnesses, including those made by Governors John C. Vivian of Colorado, M. Q. Sharpe of South Dakota, S. Clarence Ford of Montana, and many other private and public officials.

A CONGRESSIONAL INVESTIGATION could find out who paid the bill for this agency's services. It could also find out the full details of the Pacific Gas and Electric fight against public power in the Central Valley of California. The present article has barely touched the high spots of one of the most far-reaching of all the lobbies, supported by inexhaustible funds that come from the pockets of the American people. Congress should know the full story of the thousands of newspaper advertisements singing the praises of private power and criticizing publicly owned power projects.

But Congress apparently is in no mood to investigate at the present time. There probably are not enough examples of the damage done by the lobby to prompt Congress to act, for to date the lobby has not been too successful in getting actual results. But it has just begun to fight. And the time to stop it is now.

Do Farmers Want Inflation?

by George Soule

IF PRICE INFLATION comes to the United States through weakening of governmental controls, big farm organizations will be largely responsible. The Farm Bureau Federation, the National Grange, farmers' coöperatives and others have joined the National Association of Manufacturers in attacking the OPA. Only the National Farmers' Union supports the Administration. A revolt of Southern congressmen is threatened if a ceiling is imposed on cotton prices. This agitation takes place when the pressure of demand on the supply of crops is heavier even than during the war because of attempts to relieve worldwide famine.

The farm lobby not only wants to drive prices paid to the farmers to the highest possible point but intends to wreck control of retail prices. Crop prices have already risen far more than those which the consumers pay. This is made possible by the payment of governmental subsidies to make up the difference between wholesale and retail prices. Subsidies are an essential element in the anti-inflation program as long as prices paid to farmers are not drastically reduced. Yet the big farm organizations want to abolish them, as the House of Representatives has recently voted to do.

The political spokesmen for organized agriculture assert that they do not want inflation, while they advocate a course of action which would be absolutely sure to promote it. I do not know in whose interest they are acting. It is not in the interest of those who till the land and grow the crops. Let us suppose that the cost of living is permitted to soar. The following consequences can be predicted with almost mathematical certainty.

1. There would be more waves of nationwide strikes in industry, which would intensify the shortage of goods and interfere with the production of farm machinery, trucks and other agricultural necessities.
2. Large numbers of city-dwellers would be unable to increase their incomes as rapidly as the cost of living went up and so would be able to spend less for food and clothing. This would reduce the demand for what farmers have to sell.
3. The inflationary spiral would increase the cost of what farmers have to buy.
4. There would be an eventual crash in which the prices received by farmers would fall much faster and further than the prices paid by them. The agricultural depression so brought about might not be relieved for a decade or two, if ever.

Whether the individual members of the national farm organizations actually support the policies of their so-called leaders in Washington, it is difficult to say.

Farmers can think straight if the facts are presented to them. Although only a week-end farmer, I am a member of a Farm Bureau and of a leading farmers' co-operative. The official publications which I receive never present the information on which might be based an intelligent judgment of this issue. Much of the privately owned farm press follows the same line.

WAR PROSPERITY FOR FARMERS

American farmers can have no justified complaint concerning the money they have earned during the war. The wholesale prices of farm products have doubled since 1935-39, while the general average of wholesale prices was going up 54 percent. Agricultural production increased at the same time. The combination of higher prices and larger production has brought farmers the biggest cash income they ever had. In 1944 it approximated \$20 billion; in the fall of 1945 it was 162 percent greater than before the war. This larger income is divided among a smaller number of farmers and farm workers, because many have gone into the armed services or urban occupations. In 1940, about 20 percent of the working population was in agriculture; by 1943 the percentage had shrunk to 15. Not many of those who left the farms are likely to go back. By 1945, prices of the things farmers sell had risen half again as much as the prices of things farmers buy. Even in 1943 the income per person engaged in agriculture had grown 50 percent more than the earnings of industrial workers, boosted though the latter were by full employment.

Extraordinary war demand made possible the rise of farm prices. At home people were eating more because of ample diets in the armed services and the abolition of unemployment. Per-capita civilian food consumption in 1945 was 10 percent higher than in 1935-39. In 1940, exports of farm products started an almost perpendicular rise, and before the end of the war were more than four times as large as in peacetime.

Though the farm organizations have much to say about allowing the law of supply and demand free play in boosting prices farmers receive, they cling stubbornly to governmental intervention in guaranteeing *minimum* prices of crops. Ever since the First World War, they have demanded "parity prices." This means that they want a guarantee that the prices they receive will bear the same relationship to the prices of the things they buy as in the years before 1914—a period of unusual agricultural prosperity.

Before 1939, this end was sought by storing the staple crops which could not be sold above a certain figure. The figure was fixed by loans extended from the Commodity Credit Corporation to farmers, on the collateral of the stored commodities. In 1938 such loans were made at 52 to 75 percent of parity. In 1941, the ante was boosted to 85 percent of parity. In 1942, it was raised to 90 percent, except for crops needed for feeding livestock. Since then the rate on cotton has been advanced to 92.5 percent. These guarantees will automatically extend for two years following the legal end of the war. During the war, minimum prices for crops have been set in advance of the growing season by loan rates announced when plans for planting were being made. They were frequently higher than the legal minimum, to encourage production.

The wartime price-control legislation set the maximum prices for crops at parity. Thus prices received by farmers automatically rise every time the prices of industrial products increase. Farmers have not had to agitate or bargain for higher pay, as have wage earners. In addition, the parity formula conceals an inflationary joker of its own. The official index of the prices paid by farmers includes food, feed and seed. These items account for about one-third of what farmers buy. Every time they rise, the maximum prices permitted to all farmers increase, including the growers of food, feed and seed. So maximum farm prices keep on spiraling up as long as demand is heavy. This partly accounts for the fact that crop prices have risen so much more than others.

Now the farm lobby wants to add another inflationary element to the parity formula. It wants to introduce into the official index of the prices which farmers pay the wages of labor. The result would be that every time wage earners received an increase to match a rising cost in living, the cost of living would automatically rise.

WHAT HAPPENED TO FARMERS LAST TIME

It would be unfair to convey the impression that the farmers are profiteers who are gaining untold wealth at the expense of the rest of the community. For years before the war, they had suffered from a special depression of their own, and they are now catching up with the procession rather than running ahead of it. The real question is whether they are not laying up trouble for themselves. Their experience during and after the First World War should serve as a warning.

Then, also, exports increased and prices soared. In 1918, prices of raw farm products were more than double their level of 1913. Price controls were not rigid and were not even applied at the retail level, so that farmers had to pay more for what they bought. Nevertheless, the farmers' net income available for

spending, even after paying income taxes, could buy 25 percent more in 1918 than in 1915.

Inflation took a stronger hold after the Armistice. Raw farm products brought 121.9 percent more in 1919 than in 1913. After the middle of 1920, deflation began, and for the next two years prices continued to fall. When it was over, the prices of crops had gone back to the prewar level, although the prices of other commodities remained considerably above it. The purchasing power of farm incomes was far below that of a decade earlier, even during most of the prosperous twenties, and then received a new blow in the depression beginning in 1929.

What made the situation still worse was that during the war boom there had been a speculative rise in the price of farm land, and many farmers had invested their savings in real estate or had extended their holdings, on the basis of mortgage loans. Before the reckoning was complete after the collapse of the boom, 453,000 farmers had lost their farms.

Again, exports will fall sharply as soon as the demand for famine relief is over. Again, an inflationary price bubble would collapse. Again, prices of crops would fall more than prices of industrial products, which are far less flexible. Again, we are having a land boom. By March, 1945, the average value per acre of farm real estate in nine states had risen 70 percent or more above the 1935-39 average. In eleven more states the rise in value had been between 60 and 70 percent. In only two states—the Dakotas—has the rise been less than 20 percent.

If the farm lobby does not ruin the farmers by forcing inflation, American agriculture may have a chance.



MacGovern in the New York Post
Join This Fan Club!

Solution in India

by H. N. Brailsford

New Delhi, India

THE HOUR of decision draws near, but India is still in suspense. Day after day, while the temperature climbs steadily above 100 degrees F., the three cabinet ministers, with inexhaustible patience, listen to an endless procession of notables. The average Indian watches from a distance with no sign of emotion. When I talk to him, he no longer overwhelms me with the bitter distrust he expressed a month ago, but I can sense no elation. This may seem strange, for the word has been spoken for which this nation has waited so long. Independence is in sight. But "independence," as Gandhi said to me, "should have cast its shadow before." In the long months before the cabinet mission arrived, there was no psychological preparation. Today there are too many clouds across the horizon—famine, unemployment and the threat of a dismembered India.

This, however, is only part of the story, and the rest of it is encouraging. In the provinces elected ministries are now in office, and they are releasing political prisoners. Among the leaders of this nation, the coming of the three ministers, and their bearing since they came, have made a wholly favorable impression. If one thing more than another has jerked well informed Indians out of their previous distrust, it is their realization that Great Britain is prepared to withdraw her army from Indian soil. The process cannot be rapid, but it will be completed by an agreed date. This promise has already begun to modify the outlook of the few who control policy in the upper strata of Indian life. The reaction of the princes is obvious. They are adjusting themselves to the coming of independence and seeking the good will of the sovereign people of tomorrow.

There are many awkward questions to settle, but none of them in this happier atmosphere looks intractable, save the problem of Pakistan. To whom will power be transferred, to one India or to two? The elections have served to measure the balance of forces. Congress has swept the predominantly Hindu provinces and it has also won by comfortable majorities two which Mr. Jinnah claimed—Assam and the North-west Frontier. Though the Moslem League won the great majority of the seats in the Punjab, Sind and Bengal, it is nowhere securely in control. It is in the Punjab a powerful and united opposition, while a

weak coalition holds office by a narrow margin. In Sind a feeble League ministry is in office, but it depends on the votes of three European members. Even in Bengal the League lacks an absolute majority.

These facts have their importance, since they mean that no independent action could be taken by the Moslem provinces to realize Pakistan. On the other hand, when votes are scrutinized, the League can fairly claim that the Moslem regions of these provinces have given a decisive verdict for Pakistan. But before it can take effect, the mainly Hindu and Sikh districts of the Punjab will have to be amputated—no easy undertaking. From Bengal the industrial western region must be cut away, with the great port of Calcutta. Pakistan, so drawn, would not be the impressive state of which its advocates have dreamed.

HERE IS a situation that seems to ask for compromise. Silently and behind the scenes some influences on the Moslem side are working for peace, notably the Nawab of Bhopal, Chancellor of the Chamber of Princes. Mr. Jinnah, however, persists in his extremist tactics, repeats his maximum claims on every public occasion and adds to them the disconcerting declaration that Pakistan will share no common institutions with Hindustan. Congress, on the other hand, has made several statements that convey its readiness to compromise. It promises the provinces a maximum of autonomy. It proposes that the government of the Indian Union shall deal only with foreign policy, defense, customs, communications and currency—a meager list. It adds the significant suggestion that within the framework of the Union, groups of provinces may combine to deal with other optional subjects.

From this outline it would be possible to evolve a reasonable compromise. It means, I think, that the Indian Union will stand halfway between a confederacy and a true federation. Sovereignty will reside in the provinces or states, save in so far as they transfer certain powers to the center. This might satisfy the passionate wish of the Moslems to form a distinct Islamic state of their own. It remains to devise provisions which would banish from their minds the fear of being out-voted by the Hindus in the governing body of the Union. This would be easier if Ceylon and Burma, both Buddhist, should one day join the Union, together with Malaya.

Here, then, is a possible avenue of compromise which the three ministers may explore. The first obstacle in the way is that the territorial limits of Pakistan have to be drawn. Some members of the Congress

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high command are disposed to insist on a plebiscite. This seems to me a mistake. A reasoned debate and a fair vote are impossible in the present atmosphere of tension and bigotry. The wiser course would be to tell a mixed commission with a neutral chairman to draw boundaries based on the results in the provinces.

The next obstacle is Mr. Jinnah's repeated refusals to enter either an interim national government or an All-India Constituent Assembly. But let us suppose that a compromise solution can be worked out between the three ministers and Congress and embodied in an agreed formula. The next step would be to form an interim national government, which would have the right and duty to take all the necessary measures to form the Indian Union and draft its constitution. The Viceroy's veto during this period would come into play only if the government departed from the agreement. Once it were clearly understood that on these terms the British government will hand over power to a representative team of Indian leaders, would the Moslem League still refuse to coöperate? It is possible that Mr. Jinnah personally would stand aloof, but his lieutenants are not all made of the same stiff clay. In any event an impressive ministry could be formed, including a fair proportion of distinguished Moslems.

What stands in the way of such a solution? My own reading of Mr. Jinnah is that he still hopes to remain what he was in Lord Linlithgow's day—the favored

ally of the British Empire. He prophesies that Pakistan will be a better market for British goods than Hindustan. It is to be foreseen that he may complicate the issue by offering to accept dominion status for Pakistan, while the rest of India chooses independence—which would shatter the unity of the peninsula, involve Britain in all future conflicts between Indians and alienate Hindustan for an indefinite time to come.

This complex problem can be solved only by a clear-cut verdict from the three ministers. It may be inevitable that Pakistan in some form must come into being. But to create it in a shape that menaced the peace of India would be an error posterity would not forgive. The threats of civil war are only platform exaggerations, which we need not take seriously. Jawaharlal Nehru has just repeated the firm promise of Congress that it will never try to coerce a recalcitrant province. Behind that declaration lies the fact that any interim national government could rely only on the Indian army. Though it is not embittered by the feud of the creeds, over a third of its men are Moslems. What we have to fear is a period of bickerings, alarms and economic warfare, which might end in the piecemeal construction by treaties and working agreements of some species of unity for India. It should be possible, if all our inducements are used, to offer Moslems the satisfaction of forming an autonomous and sovereign Islamic state within the framework of an Indian Union.

Martin Van Buren

by Arthur M. Schlesinger Jr.

The American political system, under which people must vote for the executive as well as for the party, has made the identification inevitable between the cause and the man. We know well the problem of what happens to the cause when the man who embodied it is removed. The Jacksonians faced somewhat the same problem, if with less tragic dimensions. Martin Van Buren inherited Jackson's program and the political coalition which could put it through; he inherited everything except the mighty personality to hold the coalition together.



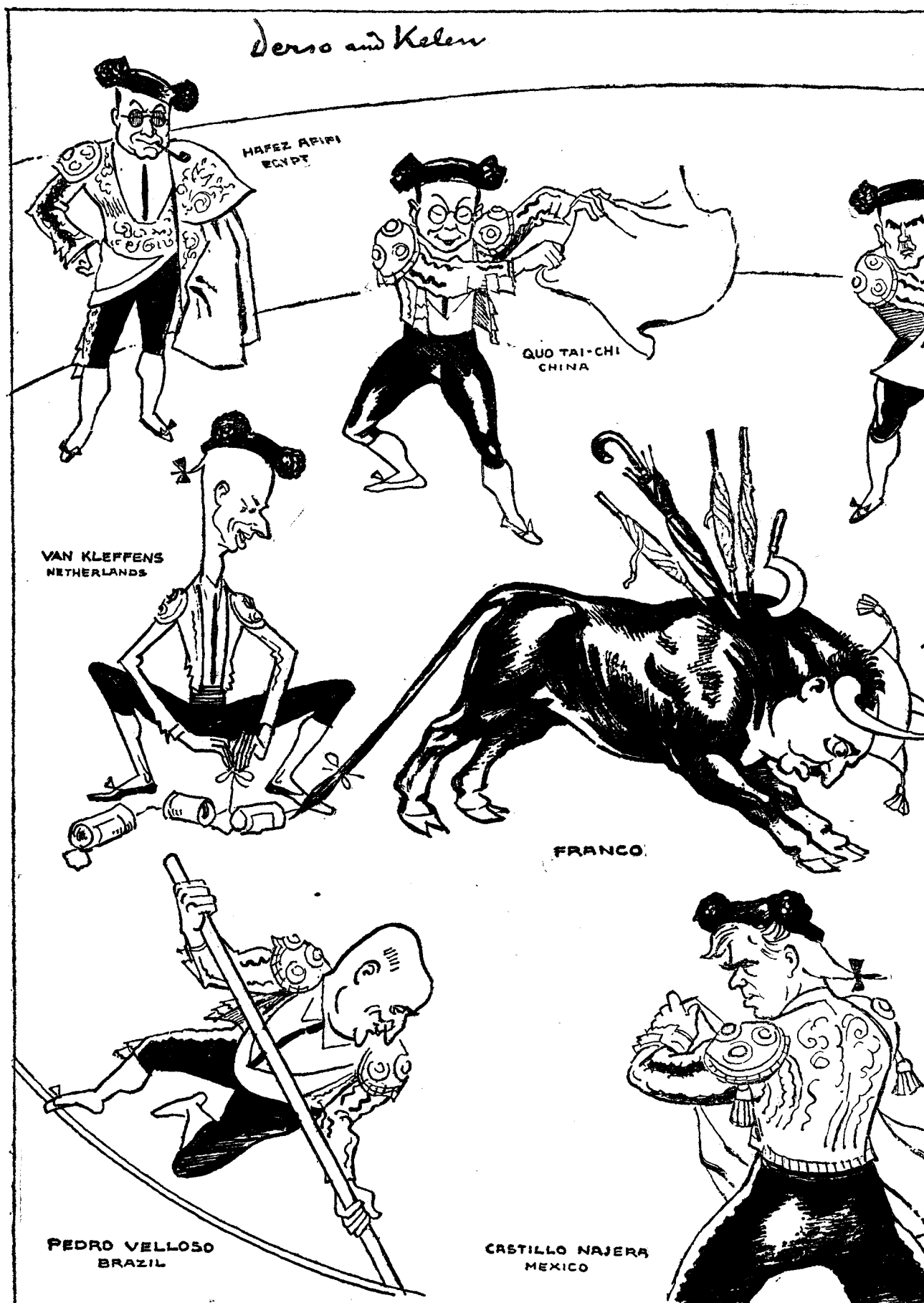
EXCEPT for the Locofoco Party in New York, nearly all the radicals were rallying around Van Buren: Bancroft and Allen in Massachusetts, Robert Dale Owen in Indiana, Ely Moore and William Leggett in New York. Fanny Wright began a long lecture tour in May, 1836, to explain the urgency of the election. In New York she tried to end

It is to Van Buren's credit that, for all his reputation as a professional politician, he did not water down the Jacksonian New Deal. The fight to establish the independent treasury consumed the whole of his administration. It represented the culmination of the Jacksonian financial policy, of which the war against the Bank was only the beginning; and, in carrying that fight through, Van Buren faced a business community which was more united and savage in its opposition than any Jackson ever had to face.

the Locofoco schism, feeling that the menace of Whiggery left no time for petulance over doctrine.

But the Whigs were equally active, concentrating their energies on a brilliant smear campaign from which Van Buren's reputation has never quite recovered. It had long been a favorite tactic to denounce the administration by fixing on sinister advisers in the background rather than affronting directly the national enthusiasm for the Hero of New Orleans. Amos Kendall was a leading nominee for scapegoat-in-chief. "For the last eight years," cried a Whig politician in 1837,

YEOMEN OF THE PEACE by Derso and Kelen



Bronx Bullfight . . . first round to the bull



"Amos Kendall (who before he was driven from Kentucky by public indignation, had reduced this state to almost utter ruin), has been emphatically the president of the United States . . . He has for eight years, through an infatuated and imbecile old man, ruled and ruined this nation."

On the whole, however, Van Buren nosed out Kendall for this distinction. In the words of William H. Seward, the rising young Whig leader in New York, Van Buren was a "crawling reptile, whose only claim was that he had inveigled the confidence of a credulous, blind, dotard old man." Webster and Calhoun had developed this theme in thundering denunciations in the Senate. Davy Crockett, the ex-frontier hero, lent his name to a so-called biography of Van Buren which reproduced the pattern in its crudest form. Another version was to be found in the most famous series of Jack Downing papers, written by Charles A. Davis, a director of the New York branch of the United States Bank and a close friend of Nicholas Biddle. Beverley Tucker's novel, *The Partisan Leader*, published by Duff Green in 1836, set forth the Van Buren stereotype in somewhat more literate terms and from the point of view of an admirer of Calhoun. A thousand Whig jokes and cartoons and broadsides depicted the smooth and sly Van Buren manipulating his foolish chief for diabolical ends.

Yet all the caterwauling could not compete against the confidence in Jackson in the West, and the solid respect with which Van Buren was regarded in the East by people who knew him other than by reputation. Hugh L. White ran against him as a "true" Jacksonian, and not insincerely; he certainly stood for what a good deal of the West thought Jackson had stood for in 1828 and 1832. To Jackson's disgust, he carried Tennessee, and young Westerners like Andrew Johnson and Abraham Lincoln voted for him. Webster won only Massachusetts, and barely polled 55 percent of the votes there. The surprise was Harrison's strong showing—seven states in his pocket and good results wherever he was on the ticket. But Van Buren ran far too well, amassing 170 electoral votes to the aggregate 124 of his opponents. The Jacksonian revolution was going into its third term.

PARTING GIFTS flooded the White House as the old General labored with Roger B. Taney on his Farewell Address and preparations began for the final removal. March 4, 1837, was clear and tranquil. Jackson, pale, composed and happy, rode by Van Buren's side to the Capitol. At noon the two men appeared on the eastern portico. Mr. Chief Justice Taney, rejected by the Senate for the offices of Secretary of the Treasury and Associate Justice of the Supreme Court, now administered the oath to Martin Van Buren, rejected as Minister to England, and Jackson, plain and contented as a private citizen, watched with deep satisfaction.

The crowds which packed the East Lawn, their faces upturned in the noon sun, were profoundly silent. After the inaugural address the old General started slowly down the broad steps toward the carriage below. As he descended the people yielded to their feelings; the pent-up flood of cheers and shouts broke forth; and they paid their long, last, irresistible tribute to the man they loved. . . . Thomas Hart Benton, watching from a side window, felt himself stirred as never before. In later years he would recall many inaugurations, but compared to this they all seemed as pageants, "empty and soulless, brief to the view, unreal to the touch, and soon to vanish." This was reality, the living relation between a man and his people, distilled for a pause in the rhythm of events, rising for a moment of wild and soaring enthusiasm, then dying away into memory.

Philip Hone scribbled a vengeful farewell to the "terrible old man." "This is the end of General Jackson's administration—the most disastrous in the annals of the country." But who was Philip Hone to speak for the people? "This day," wrote William Leggett, "completes a period that will shine in American history with more inherent and undying lustre than any other which the chronicler has yet recorded, or which perhaps will ever form a portion of our country's annals."

"This day," wrote a patriarchal New England preacher, "closes the administration of Andrew Jackson, who has spent the greater part of his life in public services. . . . I know of nothing, that a people may reasonably expect from good government, but that the United States have enjoyed under his administration."

ANOTHER CENTURY finds a strange disproportion between the uproar over the independent treasury and the plan itself, which, after all, simply proposed that the government take care of its own funds and require payment in legal tender. Why should the radical Democrats look on this innocent scheme as a second Declaration of Independence, and conservatives denounce it as wild, subversive and dangerous, deserving resistance almost on the barricades?

The plan was certainly vulnerable on economic grounds. It enforced a decentralization of the banking system which in the end would prove so cumbersome that the policy was reversed with the establishment of the Federal Reserve System. But this was not the cause of the outcry against it. Indeed, the economic objections were barely mentioned, and they would not become urgent till after the Civil War. Instead, the independent treasury was denounced for political and social reasons—as a movement toward despotism and a conspiracy against private property.

Thus, the business community fought the project as the culmination of the whole hard-money campaign. The scheme "could only be founded," wrote one Whig pamphleteer, "upon the supposition, that the banks, and the currency which they supply, are of too

unsafe a character to be employed by the government. If unsafe for the government, they must also be unsafe for the people." "What then, sir, is the policy of the administration?" asked a Whig orator. "... For myself, I believe it to be . . . a war of extermination on commerce and the currency." "Disguise it as you may," cried N. P. Tallmadge in the Senate, "it is no more nor less than a war upon the whole banking system."

For those who believed, with Hamilton, that the business class had a proprietary right to government favor, the bill thus seemed an assault on the very fabric of society. "Its leading feature," exclaimed Philip Hone in horror, "seems to be the total preclusion of the merchants, whose enterprise supports the government, from any participation in the use of money collected through their means." William M. Gouge made the repudiation of Hamilton inescapable. "If there ever should be a surplus of public funds," he wrote, "we know not what particular merit there is in the banking and speculating interests, that they should lay claim to its exclusive use. . . . If any classes of the community deserve the favor of the government in any country, they are the farmers, mechanics, and other hard-working men."

The philosophy of Federalism was thus at stake. Said the *Madisonian*, "The contest now waging, we regard as a battle between civilization and barbarism." "We have reached that point of national existence," declared a respectable magazine, "when a much longer toleration of misrule . . . is impossible. Either revolution—a revolution of violence, and perhaps of blood—or renovation, must soon change the aspect of affairs."

DEMOCRATS answered in kind. Frank Blair declared the scheme put the axe "to the root of that complicated system of measures by which Hamilton and his party sought to destroy the spirit, while maintaining the forms of the Constitution." Fanny Wright grew ecstatic. "It is the national independence realized. It is the effective, definitive annulment of this country's vassalage. It is the first practical, efficient, decisive realization of the Declaration of '76."

Depression drew the lines tight. In 1837 and 1838, American businessmen were as much united against their government as they ever have been. The ultimate question was whether, in the last resort, the government dared overrule this unanimity—and this was the obverse of the other question: Who was to make the decisions for the nation, the business community or the government?

For a Jeffersonian there could be but one answer. The vital decisions must in the last resort be made by men responsible to the people, and not by irresponsible private groups. In last analysis, said Martin Van Buren by his refusal to yield on the subtreasury, the democratically elected government *must* have control over

the business community, for this may be the only way to safeguard the life, liberty and property of the humble members of society.

Many Democrats were beginning to feel the marrow moving in their bones. Through 1838 the radicals solidified their influence. A meeting at Tammany Hall resolved that the party felt "no more disturbed at the present day, on being called 'Agrarians,' 'Loco Focos,' or 'Radicals,' than it did in the brightest day of the illustrious Jefferson, at being called 'Democrats' and 'Jacobins.'" The remnants of the old Workingmen's Party, with John Commerford in a prominent role, pledged their support. Fanny Wright was enabled, through the intervention of a Tammany alderman, to hire Masonic Hall for a series of lectures in defense of the administration. On the Fourth of July Edwin Forrest, the actor, delivered a radical address at the crowded Tabernacle, so eloquent that William Leggett had to deny having written it.

THROUGH THE EAST the battle over the independent treasury precipitated the latent radicalism in the Jacksonian Party. Orations, party addresses, convention resolutions voiced increasingly an open appeal to the humble members of society to arrest the might of the rich and powerful. The very name—Locofoco—hitherto confined to the little band in New York City, was applied by universal consent to the whole party.

Nearly all the radicals of the early thirties supported Van Buren, and many of them were appointed to office. Fanny Wright, Robert Dale Owen, Samuel Clesson Allen, George Bancroft, Orestes A. Brownson, John Commerford, Theodore Sedgwick, William Leggett were all Democrats now.

The frontier had watched the unfolding of the hard-money policy with increasing coolness. So pronounced, indeed, was Western opposition that William Foster advanced the theory, which won the support of the *New York Evening Post*, that the independent treasury was really a sectional issue, with the East playing the liberal role and the West the conservative. Though a case can be made for Foster's thesis by an analysis of votes in Congress, Henry D. Gilpin answered it in language as conclusive for Foster's theory of Jacksonian democracy as for the frontier theory. It was not a "question between Atlantic and Western States," Gilpin declared, "but between trade and productive labor . . . not a question of locality." It seems clear now that more can be understood about Jacksonian democracy if it is regarded as a problem not of sections but of classes. In 1837 Van Buren received what support he got from the West, apart from that of a few men like Benton and Polk, chiefly because of his control over the party organization.

As President, Van Buren was weak in the very respect in which he might have been expected to excel—as a politician. For a man who in the past had been so

skillful in party management, he showed himself negligent and maladroit during his own administration. His appointments failed to strengthen him. It was sheer indulgence, for example, to make James K. Paulding Secretary of the Navy, and it was worse to consider Washington Irving for the post (as Van Buren did) after Irving had opposed the independent treasury.

Nor did Van Buren show particular skill in dealing with disunity in the party. He allowed the Tallmadge split to grow almost into a rebellion, while similar splits under Jackson never became more than individual desertions. He coped badly with the slavery question, gaining an undeserved pro-Southern reputation in the North while failing to win the confidence of the South. This unexpected political ineptness weakened his administration and delayed until 1840 the passage of the independent treasury.

He had to face the final struggle with Nicholas Biddle before his policy achieved victory. The national resumption of specie payments in 1838 found Biddle's bank in an increasingly unstable position. "There is scarcely anything vicious and unsound in banking," wrote William Graham Sumner of Biddle's policy in these last years, "which the great bank did not illustrate." Biddle himself left the sinking ship in March, 1839, but his policy lingered on. For a time the Bank hoped to conceal its own condition by tricky financial operations which would cause the New York banks to suspend first. When this scheme failed, it closed its doors on October 9, carrying down with it most of the banks except those of New York and New England.

The second suspension produced Albert Gallatin's mature judgment of the Bank. It was the judgment of a man who in 1832 had supported recharter, and few businessmen of the day would have contradicted it:

That bank, subsequent to the first general suspension of May, 1837, has been the principal, if not the sole, cause of the delay in resuming and of the subsequent suspensions. In every respect it has been a public nuisance. The original error consisted in the ambitious attempt to conceal and direct the commerce of the country in the arrogant assumption of a pretended right to decide on the expediency of performing that which was an absolute duty; and in the manifest and deliberate deviation from the acknowledged principles of sound and legitimate banking. . . . It is due to the moral feeling of this country, not less than to the security of its financial concerns, that this disgraced and dangerous corporation should not be permitted any longer to exist.

The elder statesman of American finance had delivered his verdict. In the end it agreed strangely with that of General Jackson.

The second suspension heightened the public sentiment in favor of divorce. A new Congress was elected with the subtreasury as an issue. On July 4, 1840, Van Buren finally signed what Blair had called the second Declaration of Independence.

In the meantime Van Buren performed by executive order the second great service of his administration. On March 31 he declared that no person should labor more than ten hours a day on federal public works, and that this should go into effect without a reduction of wages. This measure was an unmistakable declaration that the people's government would act on behalf of the people as freely as in the past the capitalists' government had acted on behalf of the capitalists. The Whigs promptly cried that Van Buren was infringing on the right to work and demanded that pay be reduced correspondingly. Said Horace Greeley, the great alleged friend of labor: "We do not regard this measure as promising any great benefit." The length of a day's labor should be left to "mutual agreement. . . . What have Governments and Presidents to do with it?"

BUT Van Buren might have felt repaid for all the uproar if he could have read the words which Michael Shiner, the free Negro who worked in the Washington Navy Yard, wrote painfully years later: "the Working Class of people of the United States Machanic and laboures ought to never forget the Hon ex president Van Buren for the ten hour sistom. . . . May the lord Bless Mr Van Buren it seimes like they have forgot Mr. Van Buren his name ought to be Recorded in evry Working Man heart."

The calm, smiling little President might have had a worse epitaph. He governed during years of strain and anxiety, burdened with stern decisions, cluttered by the wreck of friendships and the clash of loyalties. For those on the firing lines the years cast themselves inevitably in the image of a battlefield. In a poem in the *Democratic Review*, William Cullen Bryant expressed for all the fighters the sorrows, the misgivings, the terrible loneliness and the ultimate hope:

A friendless warfare! lingering long
Through weary day and weary year;
A wild and many-weaponed throng
Hang on thy front and flank and rear.

Yet nerve thy spirit to the proof,
And blench not at thy chosen lot;
The timid good may stand aloof,
The sage may frown—yet faint thou not!

Truth, crushed to earth, shall rise again!
The eternal years of God are hers;
But Error, wounded, writhes with pain
And dies among his worshippers.

(To be continued.)

This is the sixth of ten instalments—30,000 words in all—from *The Age of Jackson* (Little, Brown), condensed with the approval of the author, who has added some new material further to point up the many parallels between our own times and those of a century ago.—THE EDITORS

What Future for the Northwest?

by Bruce Bliven

Portland, Oregon

THERE IS MORE of the feel of the old pioneering West in this part of the country than anywhere else—even Texas. California today seems a little rich, elderly and tired; the Northwest is still young, poor and determined to go places. It is not—or at least, not yet—so ridden by big reactionary corporations. You get a feeling of the agrarian radicalism which characterized the Middle West fifty years ago. Four of Washington's six Representatives had perfect progressive records in the *New Republic's* latest congressional voting chart, and there was only one bad vote out of twenty recorded for the two Senators. (Oregon was much worse, however.)

The pioneering spirit of the Northwest is not of the free-enterprise, let-us-alone variety. People in this region know that they need help from the federal government, and lots of it, for the bright future of which they dream. Like California, these states expanded enormously during the war. While some of the new workers have gone back to their homes east of the Rockies, many more have not. How are these factory people to find work in a region occupied chiefly in the past with fisheries, lumber, fruit and wheat? The answer, the Northwest feels, is in small, light industry which will utilize the enormous new resources of electric power and at least some of the aluminum-producing equipment run up during the war. For that, they need Washington's help—reasonable freight rates, electricity at lower prices than unchecked private ownership, especially of distribution lines, is likely to give, sensible disposition of surplus war plants, coördinated, comprehensive development. They also need a big federal development of new harbor facilities nearer to the vanishing fir forests than is any present good deep-sea anchorage.

Heard on the spot, the arguments for a Columbia Valley Authority on the TVA model seem persuasive. There are at present 40 government bureaus managing various sections of the economy of this vast, rich region: they overlap, conflict, leave vital jobs undone. Those who are concerned about the "centralization of bureaucracy" in Washington should welcome a development which would create greater regional autonomy without, however, repudiating the responsibility of the federal government for the main job. As things are now, Bonneville power is produced by the Army Engi-

neers, distributed by a special administration under Interior. Grand Coulee power is in the Reclamation Bureau. The Fish and Wildlife Service looks after the salmon. The Commerce Department has navigation, the Bureaus of Mines and Forestry are inextricably involved, and so on.

It is especially important that some agency give technological aid to small mines, which are numerous in this area and can only compete with big ones if they are kept abreast of new developments. The CVA bill would set up a three-man authority to deal with the region as a region. That seems to make sense.

Seattle

The people of the Northwest are enormously proud of their great dams, Bonneville and Grand Coulee; they repeat the statistics endlessly, and would take out and lynch any visitor not properly impressed. Grand Coulee, for example, is by far the greatest construction job in human history. The whole population of the United States would take no more space than the dam (and would weigh less). The poured concrete would put a floor over three states as big as Pennsylvania, or build two 20-foot highways, coast to coast. The pumps could suck up the entire flow of any American river but the Mississippi. The dam creates a lake 150 miles long, whose water reclaims 1,200,000 acres of arid land, with farm homes for up to 40,000 people (which means town jobs somewhere else for 80,000 more). The electricity to be produced will be more than the combined total of the two next biggest dams in the world—Boulder and Dneprostroy.

Naturally, public power is a hot issue in the Northwest. Ownership today is about half and half, public and private, with both sides hurling bitter recriminations at each other. Local communities can, and do, buy their own local power systems, and even offer surplus power to each other at what private-power men call cutthroat rates. These men insist their own rates are perforce reasonable because they are set by state commissions; the public-power men reply that the private systems have never even been valued, and that without valuation rate-making is nonsense. Public-ownership advocates want lots of very cheap power, to show the world what a really electrified community could be and do. Since the new industrial population is mostly very progressive politically, it would seem that time is on the side of the angels—always provided that enough jobs of some sort can be found, to keep the recent arrivals alive.

This is one of several articles reporting on conditions in various Western states. — THE EDITORS

Young and Right

Call Me Mister, sketches by Arnold Auerbach, music and lyrics by Harold Rome. National Theatre, April 18, 1946.

THE NEW REVUE with people now out of the services is what we should all like it to be. There is the star of the show, Miss Betty Garrett, who wrote, acted and booked a series of "GI Jane" shows in the hospitals and Army bases; and there are Mr. Lawrence Winters, a Negro singer with a capital voice, Mr. Bill Callahan, Mr. George Hall, Mr. Alan Manson, Miss Betty Lou Holland, Miss Paula Bane and so on and so on up into dozens, all fresh from camps and tours, far lands, dangers and loyal duties for their country, and all falling into the high spirits of a full and varied entertainment. It is the kind of thing that, as Mr. Louis Kronenberger said in his review in *PM*, you sit through with relish and leave with regret.

The general pattern or motif for the numbers of "Call Me Mister" might be said to be that a fellow out of the service runs into exactly the opposite of what he is expecting. On such a scheme, always good-tempered, are built "Welcome Home," "The Army Way," "The Red Ball Express," "A Home of Our Own" and many other numbers and themes that make up the show. Miss Betty Garrett belongs to the school of Ethel Merman. She is not

yet so sure-fire in her execution, so entirely expert in her stage projection as that veteran child of a hard-hitting theatre, but in some ways is a good deal more attractive and more adaptable.

The program notes make interesting reading as to the war careers of those involved in this happy event. Mr. Auerbach, author of the sketches, wrote skits that were sent out by the Army to be put on by soldiers for their own entertainment all over the world. Mr. Robert Gordon, the director, of "Pins and Needles" fame, served the USO-Camp Shows, produced sixteen and directed four of its overseas musical shows and was responsible for the Army's first "blueprint show," Auerbach's "About Face," prepared for easy duplication at any Army post. Mr. John Wray, the dance director, has served the Navy writing scenarios of official films. Mr. Lehman Engel, musical director of "Call Me Mister" and a notable contributor to its success, has been in the Navy, and Mr. Lester Polakov, who designed the scenery, flew sixty-four missions and won various medals and decorations. Mr. Melvyn Douglas, co-producer with Herman Levin, has a war record too long and varied to recount here, and has recently been promoted to the rank of Lieutenant Colonel in the Reserve.

Out of the many personalities in this revue and their experiences something very much alive, likable, clean, human and stylish has appeared. STARK YOUNG

The Bandwagon

"I have said before that our victory not only was won, but was deserved. It was a victory given to us by God, and do you believe that God would permit barbarianism and lack of gallantry in the country of Don Quixote?" — *Generalissimo Francisco Franco, as quoted in the New York Times.*

1946. With most of the Pacific under U. S. control, some say keeping the islands is contrary to earlier pledges. Others insist we need the island bases whose names are now forever famous. No matter what side you're on, you'll find another name getting more and more fame—Corby's. — *From an advertisement for Corby's whiskey in Esquire.*

The OPA confronts its crucial legislative tests as the House begins voting on amendments tomorrow. Today, the debate had to compete with the opening of the baseball season, and about 60 of the 431 House members remained on the floor through the afternoon to hear the sharp exchanges. — *From the San Francisco Chronicle.*

An International Event—"Muse." . . . "Muse" is the climax of eight years of sensitive composing . . . marked by many moments of discouragement but crowned by ultimate triumph. — *From a Coty advertisement for Muse perfume in the New Yorker.*

Democracy in Action: Deep South Division

The [state] Senate passed a jury-qualification bill which Senator George Harrell, of Lumpkin, declared would put Negroes in jury boxes in Georgia. Asked by Senator Homer Causey, of Alma, if he did not know that the United States Supreme Court had ruled that a Negro could not be convicted of crime unless other Negroes were on the jury list, Senator Harrell replied: "The United States Supreme Court is a foreign body.

We don't pay any more attention to it in my county than they pay to the state prohibition law in Savannah and Chatham County." — *From the Atlanta Journal.*

The American Scene

The saga of mink is practically sung to little girls in their cradles. It becomes part of the golden ladder of their dreams. For mink is not just a fur, it is a symbol; more than a coat, it is almost a coat of arms. . . . Never before has so much mink been afforded by so many. It is a phenomenon that amazes the chroniclers of our time. It is, also, an impressive proof of true democracy to see working girls lunching at sandwich counters wrapped in the glamorous furs of queens. — *From the New York Times Magazine.*

Toughie

The toothbrush manufacturers are in something of a dither because of some new problems resulting from their technological progress. In the old days, most bristles wore out in a month or six weeks, and the toothbrush-replacement business was always brisk. Now that nylon bristles will wear well for six months or longer, the replacing business has suffered seriously. Nobody has figured a way to lick the problem yet. — *From Tide.*

On the Home Front

[Florida] Attorney General Watson, commenting on a recent CIO request for his views about the Ku Klux Klan, said today if it should become his duty to investigate subversive organizations he would start with communism in the CIO. — *AP dispatch from Tallahassee.*

Our readers are invited to contribute to this column; \$1 will be paid for each item used. Address Bandwagon, care of the New Republic. Please enclose the original clipping. — THE EDITORS

Correspondence

FDR's Governess

SIR: Your Roosevelt Memorial (April 15) is a fine tribute to the memory of a very great man. I hope there are rag copies for posterity. Even in an age of microfilm I should like to see some rag copies preserved.

Incidentally, Mr. Straight gives me the impression he thinks Mademoiselle Sandoz, FDR's governess or French teacher, was from France. She was Swiss, as, according to one of her letters to a grandnephew, the Roosevelts preferred. . . . During her years at Hyde Park, the letters to her nephew included considerable comment on national and international problems, particularly those raised by the Populists, who had the East so agitated at that time. She wrote with the secure approval of a far-sighted conservative about such issues as state regulation of railroads, banks and the basic resources of a nation. She was all for old-age pensions and similar social legislation, a bit patronizingly so—the responsible, international-minded citizen of an older and more advanced republic tolerantly praising some sound but not well informed young enthusiasts who thought they had discovered something new and radical. Written at a time of concern about financial theory, one of her letters spoke of the immorality of interest. Society bestows value upon money only as a medium of exchange and the tariff should be upon anyone who withdraws large sums from circulation, not upon those who are using the money. She thought a sound money system had to be international and looked forward to the day when all barriers between nations would disappear. . . .

It was out of the progressive Switzerland of the late nineteenth century that Mademoiselle came to teach young Franklin. It is said that when the old governess was told her charge had entered the White House she was pleased, but a little concerned that he might not remember enough of his history.

New York City

MARI SANDOZ

Atomic-Energy Control

SIR: The writer wishes to congratulate the *New Republic* for its liberal position in connection with atomic-energy development and control.

The average person has very little real scientific knowledge, and it is easy to confuse him regarding the magnitude of the present advantage we seem to have. But regardless of his training, any rational person should be guided by enlightened self-interest, and should recognize intelligent social control. If we are really sincere in backing the United Nations, wouldn't it be the course of greatest wisdom for us to give a monopoly on atomic bombs to this organization? The UN cannot keep the peace otherwise. . . .

I believe that Nobel, the inventor of dynamite, had the dream that his dynamite might make war so destructive that nations would hesitate to begin a war. Nobel was wrong about dynamite, but atomic energy can be used for that purpose by a strong UN.

It is our moral duty to take the leadership at this time, and the future will judge us harshly if we do not. The basic knowledge concerning nuclear physics is widespread, and we cannot prevent the logical technical development which is bound to follow in several other countries in just a few years. It is interesting to speculate on how the American people will react when some other country starts testing atomic bombs in the "Big Stick" manner.

We can't afford to be wrong about such important matters;

so the freest possible discussion should be continued in order to build up public awareness of the dangers involved.

Pittsburgh, Pa.

W. J. STEWART

The Central Valleys Project

SIR: Bruce Bliven's article, "California for the Rich?" carried in the April 8 edition of the *New Republic* was a straightforward, succinct statement of the current threat to the economic future of this state. He properly identified the "vested interests" which, according to State Engineer Hyatt, are supporting Army construction of key Valley dams, as the Pacific Gas and Electric Company and the large landholders.

Mr. Hyatt, however, also identified the groups opposing the Army and favoring the integrated, multiple-purpose construction of the Reclamation Bureau as farm organizations and labor unions. The fact is that all liberal elements in California are now united into the Central Valleys Project Conference. This is an agency officially representing all organized labor, the State Grange, the Western Dairymen's Union and 150 church, consumer, cooperative, civic, professional and veterans' groups. . . . So effective has been the educational and organizational work of the Conference that five candidates are now running for office on a Central Valleys Project program in the district of Representative Alfred Elliott and the home of the Kern County Land Company. One of these candidates, John G. Terry of Visalia, running for Elliott's seat in Congress, stands a good chance of retiring this spokesman of the PG and E and the Kern County Land Company. The State Democratic platform carries a plank on the unified development of the Project, stipulating both cheap water and public power. We expect this to become one of the major issues of the campaign. . . .

SAMUEL E. WOOD, Executive Secretary,
Central Valleys Project Conference

Sacramento, Calif.

SIR: Please accept my congratulations—yes and my thanks—for your unmitigated and continuous watchfulness over the rights of the sleeping millions, especially as shown in Bruce Bliven's article, "California for the Rich?" . . .

I wish his words could be given wings, that they were not confined to the pages of the *New Republic*, that this article could be made required reading for our national legislators. . . .

Phoenix, Ariz.

WENDELL S. STOUT

From The New Republic Mail Bag

Lewis Mumford, from Hanover, New Hampshire, sends us a petition to the President and Congress asking for the following short-term policy for control of the atom bomb, pending its internationalization and control by the UN: That the United States "1. Declare our readiness to submit to a complete system of United Nations inspection and control of atomic weapons and atomic energy, provided that . . . these measures are accepted as equally binding . . . by the other members of the United Nations. 2. Stop our further manufacture of atomic bombs. 3. Dismantle the bombs we have made and place our stockpile of fissionable materials under special UN guard, as a proof of our moral unwillingness to use bombs in a surprise attack against any nation."

Our New York readers might like to see an exhibition of the work of Seven Soldier Artists at the Tribune Book and Art Center, 100 West Forty-second Street, through May 11.

Books in Review

That War We Fought

WITH PEACE come the writers of war memoirs, and that means war again—charges and counter-charges among allies of yesterday. Here we are, less than twelve months after the surrender in Europe, with a barrage by Ralph Ingersoll aimed at the British at whose side he fought, and at the man whom he looks on as their easy stooge—General Eisenhower.¹

Last time, after 1918, the mutual recriminations among allies were at least held in check for a while by the fact that the Germans for their part were scribbling too and trying to prove in many a tract and tall tale that they hadn't lost the war at all. Writers on the Allied side thus had to go on a while aiming their biggest shots at the Germans. But this time, although the Germans may scribble, they can't publish it unless we say so, and so there is nothing to deflect us from shooting up our own side.

The theme of Ingersoll's book is a familiar one—more so in the mouth of the editor of the *Chicago Tribune* than in that of the editor of *PM*. It is that in the war in Europe the British had us. They tricked us, tried to use us for their own imperial purposes, and then welshed when it came to actual fighting; as a matter of fact, since they knew we were committed to bail them out, "What did it matter [to them] whether the war took one year more or five—or even ten? In the long race of history, the British horse was in." And when it came to the actual invasion—whose plans the British had come near sabotaging—the only fighting that got anywhere was done by Americans: "The battle of St. Lô won France; the encirclement of the Ruhr finished the Third Reich. Both of them were 100-percent Bradley battles, and each was fought by American troops without assistance from any ally." (That rather puts the Russians in their place, too, but no matter.)

It's an old-fashioned line: we are the world's toughest and best men, but also the dumbest. The picture Ingersoll draws of the Anglo-American military committees which worked on planning OVERLORD (the invasion of Western Europe) is on the pathetic side: the British, he complains, put into these committees "exceptionally articulate officers who could present and debate their case better than the Americans." In other words, they were just plain smarter than we. That wasn't fair. Ingersoll's two heroes, General Devers (Eisenhower's predecessor in the preparation for OVERLORD) and General Bradley, are described somewhat as stumblebums, too: they were fine, straight-shooting soldiers, but since they weren't up to the game of British and SHAEF intrigue, they often got pushed around.

Of course, this kind of stuff is going to start bad blood here and abroad. We could try just to skip it, except that it is going to be picked up by every group in the country interested in splitting us from our late allies and in bringing the top conduct of the war—and even the war itself—

into disrepute. If you are going to read Ingersoll, perhaps you would do well to read at the same time a book that puts the war in Europe in quite another light: Harry Butcher's account of his three years at Eisenhower's side.¹

Both men were in it from start to finish—Ingersoll as a combat officer and then as an operations planner on General Bradley's staff, and Butcher as the closest personal aide of the big boss, assigned to keep a running account of what went on in top headquarters and in the boss's mind. Ingersoll was 12th Army Group, Butcher was SHAEF; and this explains a good deal of the difference between them, for there is no grudge as great as that of a high headquarters against a still higher one. Ingersoll not only thinks very little of the big boss's mind—which he implies wasn't his own mind anyway, but Churchill's—but he does not see why there really should have had to be a big boss at all: he just got in the Americans' way.

THE ARGUMENT began with General Devers, who held the top American job in London before Eisenhower was called in from the Mediterranean. He believed that in the coming invasion the American forces should be entirely on their own; and as for the British, let them run their show as they wished. In other words, it was to be 1917-18 on the Western Front again. But Eisenhower—as Butcher's story shows—had felt even in early 1942 that this wouldn't work. We would have to be one team, whether we liked it or not. Just as we needed the British navy to help put us ashore in North Africa, it looked as if we would have to rely on them for landing craft in the Channel. The British, in turn, would need our bomber support, while our bombers, in turn, would need British fighter escort. The Americans would have to rely on British intelligence, and the British on American gas; we and the British would have to say the same thing in our propaganda or the Germans would make capital out of the difference; and above all, the Allies would have to be able to turn against the Germans on land their own strategy of "double envelopment"—that is, coordinated drives around both flanks, which could be accomplished only if we were one team with one captain.

All this is old history. The question is, did it work? Did it bring us Americans a return that was commensurate with the freedom of action we sacrificed by marrying ourselves militarily to the British? Ingersoll says no; the British didn't want to fight in France anyway, they malingered when they got there, and when they could not bring in a victory by themselves they resorted to trying to break up the American field command in order to steal one from us.

This again would be a matter for armchairs and historians if it were not for the charge of bad faith which it raises. Now there is no question that the British were never fully sold on OVERLORD. This comes out plainly in Butcher's story of the years of planning and postponement.

¹ *Top Secret*, by Ralph Ingersoll. New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company. 373 pages. \$3.

¹ *My Three Years with Eisenhower: The Personal Diary of Captain Harry C. Butcher, USNR, Naval Aide to General Eisenhower, 1942-1945*. New York: Simon and Schuster. 911 pages. \$5.

The British wanted to work upward from the Mediterranean, clearly desirous of securing their imperial lifelines first, and no doubt then of getting themselves into a position of future influence in Southeastern Europe. But so did the American air force want to work up from the Mediterranean, on the theory that Germany could be bombed out of the war from there and England, without actual invasion. And as for the United States Navy, it was off fighting its own war somewhere else and wasn't interested in OVERLORD. Eisenhower and his betters not only had to sell the British, but two other American services as well.

Then there is the implication in Ingersoll's book that OVERLORD was not very hot as a plan. The British drafted it, chiefly on American insistence, but allegedly with the scheme in mind that it would be abandoned. It was, we are told, "unimaginative" and "stolid"; its authors were "defeatist." Perhaps, then, it is just another example of British trickery that the plan came off in the way it did, effecting complete surprise on the Germans, who later told us that they had expected us to go for a big harbor where we could unload our forces, never dreaming we would pick an area where there were no harbors at all and bring the famous "Mulberries" and "Gooseberries" along with us.

Let's not fight the battles over again. But let's not belie them either. Of course it was the Americans who won the great encircling victories. And of course it is true that Montgomery was a good deal more arrogant than his achievements on the Continent deserved. The Americans around Bradley and Patton got fed up with the British and thought they could get along without them. They were sometimes inclined to forget that the British—placed on the eastern flank in Normandy and on the hinge around which we were to swing as we threw open the gate into France—had taken on their front the better part of Rommel's armor, and had to grapple with it mile by mile. Some of the Americans got fed up with SHAEF as well because it kept thinking about these British—or rather, about this left, and later northern, end of the line. But Eisenhower always had his eye on the ultimate goal of the Ruhr, which was in the line of the northern armies. He needed a left tackle while Patton ran the ball around right end. The British tackles didn't do so well, and so Bradley's people called, "Take 'em out," although there were no substitutes around. Just as Patton had tried to grab off from the neighboring U. S. First Army, the fuel that would keep his own army rolling, so Bradley's Army Group now tried to get hold of the fuel earmarked for Montgomery, so as to be able to take off into central Germany.

It all looked like good, healthy competition, until it became a bit more competitive than healthy. The front was huge, and very few people thought in terms of more than one part of it. Now if SHAEF in the fall of 1944 had thought entirely in terms of Patton's part of it and had stripped the northern armies of supplies in his favor, maybe that would have won the war earlier. Maybe. Ingersoll says so, but his apoplectic pages do not make out the best case for it. With their suggestion that Bradley was busy singing hymns of hate against his British neighbors and conspiring to "outwit" SHAEF, they do a disservice to the reputation of that brilliant general. Bradley was a pretty collected man—a good deal more so than some of the staff officers who advised him. When I was in and

out of their headquarters in Luxembourg, especially during the Battle of the Bulge, their outpourings were really something to hear. And these sentiments were reciprocated at British headquarters in Brussels, where Bradley's intelligence set-up was held to blame for the Rundstedt breakthrough. Whatever the rights and wrongs of these rows, they all added up to prove the one thing which Ingersoll has been trying to disprove—namely the need of a referee, a go-between at the top who would try to keep our banners from getting too much in the way of our bullets.

Eisenhower was a political general, of course. We hear that he was too political—too accommodating to the other fellow. But on the other hand, one could also argue that sometimes he was not political enough: that is, there were times when he did not see the political goals of the war so clearly as he saw the military goals, and as a result let us in for some deals that we and our friends felt sick about. In Butcher's diary entries covering the North African campaign, you get the feeling that Eisenhower went into the deal with Darlan without a qualm, and never quite knew what hit him when Allied public opinion rose up; and you do not gather that there was any awareness at top headquarters of the significance of the deal with Badoglio.

Eisenhower could have profited in these instances from a firm political guidance—which was not given. But he didn't need political guidance to confirm his own deep-seated conviction that it was all one war and that we were one team and not just a couple of gangs. The idea worked, but here we go again. One man's family is another man's feud; and the effect of blasts like Ingersoll's is merely to divide and subdivide, until we are each off again in an angry nationalist room all by ourselves. WILLIAM HARLAN HALE

Lower Criticism

Dickens, Dali and Others, by George Orwell. New York: Reynal and Hitchcock. 243 pages. \$2.50.

ENGLISH CRITICS, by circumscribing their definition of culture, have missed a great deal. Inheriting their criteria from Walter Pater, an Oxford don, or Matthew Arnold, a school inspector, they have confined themselves to the higher manifestations of art. They have dealt more effectually with the elegiac past than with the distracting present. Until quite recently they have hesitated to acknowledge that heaven and earth contain more things than fall within the academic curriculum. They have never quite outgrown the peculiar tutelage of an educational system which bases itself on the coalition between intellectual superiority and social snobbery. Thus T. S. Eliot can impose his opinions with a schoolmaster's authority, while William Empson exerts his perceptions with a schoolboy's precocity. Even Cyril Connolly, though morbidly conscious of the obsolescent institutions behind him, cannot say good-bye to all that; he can merely shore up personal fragments for some historical museum; with Connolly the critical faculty seems to have turned inside out. It opens up and ranges afield, however, with his Eton classmate and fellow-traveling free-lance, George Orwell. In this, the first book of Orwell's criticism to be published here—as in his political writing, his Burmese novel and his column for *Tribune* (London)—the critic seems to have rolled up his shirt-

sleeves, discarded the old school tie and shouldered the difficult task that confronts English writers today.

The range and direction of these ten essays are succinctly implied by the title, since Dickens comes so very close to the center of every Englishman's consciousness, where Dali is about as peripheral as any international eccentric could be. The most pictorial of novelists and the most literary of painters, they are caricaturists both; but where Dickens' exaggerated shading elicits our sympathies, Dali's slick surfaces lure us in order to shock us. Where Dickens redeems the grotesque with a common touch, Dali seasons the commonplace with more than a touch of perversity. Somewhere perhaps in Mrs. Jarley's waxworks or Mr. Krook's junkshop or Noddy Boffin's dustheap there may be glimmerings of the surrealist iconography: the tiny crutches that prop up weary eyelids, the bureau drawers that emerge from feminine torsos, the putrescent donkeys that lie in state on grand pianos. But Orwell is less interested in comparisons than in contrasts. His review of Dali's autobiography contrasts refreshingly with the pretentious hedging of its American reviewers, equally afraid to be taken in or left out. Orwell, without hesitating or indulging in higher criticism, puts his finger on the *mot juste*: "It is a book that stinks." From this clear-cut response, once it has been registered, there can be no appeal. Indeed it should gratify the coprophagic imagination of the autobiographer.

BUT THE RELATIONSHIP between art and morality is still so confused that this very essay, an explicit attempt to hold the artist up to moral standards, was suppressed by its original publishers. The English have their Lord Eltons and Alfred Noyeses, even as we have our cultured philistines, ever willing to confound a book with its subject and to condemn them both indiscriminately. Special pleas for esthetic discrimination, at the other extreme, appeal to what Orwell calls "Benefit of Clergy"—a doctrine which absolves painters like Dali, or poets like Pound, from responsibility for the things they say. Responsible critics like Orwell, while recognizing Dali's masterly draftsmanship, cannot overlook his childish exhibitionism: "He is as anti-social as a flea." He is, we must admit, an impudent parasite. It is historically significant, in view of the perennial friction between the bohemian and the bourgeois, that his scurrilous gestures should be so extravagantly rewarded. "Dali's fantasies cast light on the decay of capitalist civilization," as Orwell is able to show in phosphorescent detail. But he never forgets that "the artist is also a citizen." Orwell's canon is always "the bedrock decency of a human being." And when these norms are flouted, he is neither cynically amused nor bitterly indignant, but—as he himself says of Dickens—"generously angry."

The central essay is more genially affirmative, for the great contribution of Dickens was "to express in a comic, simplified and therefore memorable form the native decency of the common man." There is melodramatic villainy in this world simply because men do not heed his message, "Behave decently." He is anxious to change not institutions but hearts: hence his feeling for childhood, his zeal for education. Yet his characters never grow, or struggle internally, as Orwell observes in comparing him with Tolstoy. If they appear to be static, frequently monstrous, is it not because of the molds in which they are cast? And is it

not institutional reform, rather than moral regeneration, that Dickens inspires in us? Even the simplest code of decency bristles with class angles and ideological implications, though these may be more evident to us than to Dickens' countrymen. Orwell shrewdly notices how seldom workmen are described at their work, how often lower-class spokesmen turn out to be family retainers; but he also concedes that humor is finally subversive, that it stages a wholesome revolt against all authority. His interpretation is well balanced if inconclusive, oscillating between the revolutionist who asks, "How can you improve human nature until you have changed the system?" and the moralist who replies, "What is the use of changing the system before you have changed human nature?"

But few of us, happily, must be yogis or commissars; most of us may be something in between; and Orwell is much too English, too pragmatic, to be stalemated by Arthur Koestler's rhetorical dilemmas. When Koestler offers facile pessimism as a consolation for the lost optimism of the Left, Orwell reminds us that life involves a continuous choice of evils; that the world can still be bettered, albeit never perfected, by socialism. Looking back across two wars toward the early aspirations of the century, he re-evaluates two mentors of his generation, the utopian Wells and the atavistic Kipling. Though Wells's prophecies cannot be said to have weathered Hitler's fulfillments, time has corroborated some of Kipling's half-civilized insights—his realization that "men can only be civilized while other men, inevitably less civilized, are there to guard and feed them." Eliot's recent discovery of Kipling is, for Orwell, "a sign of the emotional overlap between the intellectual and the ordinary man." Most of his own attention is directed to those overlapping regions where highbrows can move incognito among lowbrows. It is hard to traverse that middle ground without leaning over backwards: defending P. G. Wodehouse, for example, while accusing Yeats of fascism. The pioneering strength of these studies, however, lies in their comprehensive grasp and trenchant analysis of the patterns of popular culture.

ORWELL's characteristic method is not so much to sharpen distinctions as to mediate between extremes, to include those elements which are excluded from sharper and more one-sided formulations. The greatest literature derives its wholeness, he knows, not only from the intransigent intellectuality of Don Quixote but from the easy-going vulgarity of Sancho Panza. Tense modernity has banished the latter to the subterranean realm of the comic postcard, and thither Orwell enterprisingly pursues it. Further explorations draw him to such popularly appreciated and critically neglected *genres* as the crime story and the boys' magazine. There he finds that the code of "cricket" has been undermined by the recent infiltration of "Yank Mags." The Anglo-Saxon conception of playing the game against odds, however naïve and snobbish, is morally superior to the leader-principle, the cult of brute power, the worship of such culture heroes as Tarzan and Superman and the G-man. Against these he balances the more traditional figures of Robin Hood, Mickey Mouse and Jack the Giant-Killer. The parable of the triumphant underdog, the winning of the all-but-lost cause, sets the pattern for Dickens' happy endings; it also provides the impetus for

the socialistic myth, as Orwell points out; and it has given Churchill some of his most magnificent occasions.

But our immediate world seems to bear a closer resemblance to the Daliesque landscape than to the Dickensian Christmas story. Robin Hood cannot hold out against the G-man, Mickey Mouse is no match for Tarzan, and Jack the Giant-Killer—pitted against Superman—experiences a failure of nerve. The odds that overwhelm the artist today are truly gigantic, as James T. Farrell shows in his timely pamphlet, "The Fate of Writing in America." It is heartening to be reminded that critical intelligence, though dwarfed by the combined forces of philistinism, commercialism and reaction, is still functioning; that it is determined to face them squarely, without either descending to their own abysmal levels or being abstracted into transcendental spheres.

HARRY LEVIN

Horrors of Bolshevism, Inc.

I Chose Freedom: The Personal and Political Life of a Soviet Official, by Victor Kravchenko. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 496 pages. \$3.50.

TAKE one Soviet renegade. Mix with several professional Russophobes. Stir well so that ingredients are no longer lumpy. Flavor with sex and a dash of Chekhov or Dostoevsky. Boil with concentrated extract of Boris Karloff and Bela Lugosi. Cover thickly with Liberty sauce. Serve piping hot. List on menu as "The Real Truth: Honest-to-God!" Will sell like hot cakes.

This recipe for anti-Soviet literature has long since become standardized. All publishers know that any book in this category will be extravagantly eulogized by Dorothy Thompson, John Chamberlain, Max Eastman, Edmund Wilson, William Henry Chamberlin, Eugene Lyons, *et al.* It will also be seriously discussed as a "revelation" in the *New York Times* and will probably be handsomely subsidized and summarized by the *Reader's Digest*. The new "Anti-Comintern" may be politically bankrupt. But in a boom market it is financially in the black.

The latest spicy dish from the Red-baiters' kitchen purports to be the autobiography of Victor Kravchenko, industrial engineer and Red Army captain, who fled from a Soviet Purchasing Commission in Washington on April 4, 1944, and at once publicly denounced the Soviet government for tyranny and a "double-faced" foreign policy. Neither author nor publisher cares to disclose who translated the manuscript and assisted in "editing it from an American vantage point." But the book conforms in all respects to the prescribed formula, including the melodramatic flights of the author from the secret agents of the NKVD bent upon his liquidation, the usual array of slanders and the customary framing, poisoning and butchering of all good people by the fiendish Stalin.

The portrait of Russia here painted bears more than a coincidental relationship to the impression of America conveyed through the years by the *Daily Worker* and *New Masses*, save that Kravchenko's extravaganza is more fanciful and his "facts" are less capable of verification—since he admits he was obliged to "change some names, disguise some places, alter some circumstances" in order "to protect innocent people from the pitiless vengeance of

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Last month *POLITICS* celebrated its second birthday. Its first 24 issues presented such much-discussed articles as Simone Weil's "The Iliad, or the Poem of Force," Walter J. Oakes' "Toward a Permanent U. S. War Economy?" Bruno Bettelheim's "Behavior in Extreme Situations: Notes on a Year in Dachau and Buchenwald," Niccolo Tucci's regular department, "Commonnonsense."

POLITICS' circulation is still small (5,500) but bigger than its editor expected when he started the magazine. For *POLITICS* goes out of its way to irritate people; it is irreverent, hard-hitting, independent, unpredictable. New Dealers, Stalinists, Trotskyists, Socialists and Republicans all find much to dislike in every issue. The only people who really enjoy *POLITICS* are those who prefer a pointed witticism to a blunt platitude, an uncomfortable speculation to a cherished orthodoxy. Religious people find *POLITICS* profane, and the scientifically minded find it mystical.

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the Soviet State." The United States is indeed a land of strikers, demagogues, gangsters, racketeers, illiterates and lynching mobs. The USSR is indeed a land of police spies, poverty, bungling, brutality, oppression and misery. Both pictures are "true." Both are also utterly misleading in the absence of a balanced perspective on other aspects of community experience and aspiration.

For the exposure and correction of evils, democracy relies upon freedom of expression in an open market for talk. Soviet socialism relies upon the careful recruitment of men and women who are sworn to serve the common good and organized into a disciplined order of crusaders. In both worlds the remedies sometimes work and sometimes lead to new abuses, for human beings at best are feeble creatures much given to translating liberty into license and discipline into despotism. This book is a chronicle of evil in Soviet society. Its author is a living demonstration of the extent to which technically competent but socially myopic and politically untrustworthy careerists have at times been permitted to rise high in the ranks of the new Soviet elite.

Kravchenko's recital of horrors is more graphic, but less convincing, than Stalin's own condemnation of "dizziness from success" in 1930 and Zhdanov's lengthy report of 1939 on shameful abuses of authority within the party. By his own account, Kravchenko received a technical education at public expense, was admitted to the party in 1929, was befriended by Ordjonikidze, explained his way out of various accusations of disloyalty and financial irregularities, climbed high in the managerial class, enjoyed rewards and privileges of all kinds at the hands of the Soviet state, finally

reached the Kremlin as a responsible executive in war production and spent seven months in America working for his government—all the while cherishing the inner conviction that he was serving the cause of Satan.

Such a record requires much explaining. Through hundreds of pages, Kravchenko demonstrates to his own satisfaction that he is a fellow of lofty principle, so sickened with Soviet bestiality that he is at length driven, in the midst of the most frightful war of all time, to desert his party, his army, his country and his career. The rub is that "inwardly" he broke with the party in 1932 but continued to profit from his membership for twelve years thereafter. He explains that "after all, one could not simply 'leave' the party. . . . It would have meant removal from the school, disgrace and persecution. . . . I labored to repair my loyalties." The explanation is specious. People who insist that for years they have "loyally" served a cause that they knew to be monstrous are ill equipped for exercises in moral indignation against their colleagues and superiors.

But Kravchenko's real tragedy (assuming that the substance of his narrative is not fictional) is that he could never see the forest because of the trees. Soviet collectivization and industrialization during the 1930's were agonizing ordeals, marked by innumerable blunders and crimes, many of them more shocking than Kravchenko's own experiences. Whether the price paid in tears and blood could have been smaller is forever debatable. The result, however, was victory in building the foundation of Soviet power and the expectation of a life of ultimate abundance and freedom for the Soviet peoples. The result is brushed aside in these pages, as in all the literature of this type. Yet had the victory not been won, Kravchenko, paradoxically, could not now be publishing his book in America. For in this case the fascist powers would have beaten Russia and defeated the United Nations.

But one does not expect from deserters like Kravchenko any honest acknowledgment of the relationship between ends and means. He obviously knows little either of the international situation or the progress of Soviet economy. Joseph Davies' book he finds "strange, half-literate," full of "obscene absurdity." His preference, like that of Trotsky, Barmine, *et al.*, is that the USSR should have gone under rather than have survived through the use of brutal measures to remake man and society and prepare against the day of attack.

The task of tomorrow is of course to reverse the verdict of arms. "The next step toward security lies not in a world organization but in the liberation of the Russian masses from their tyrants. . . . Those who think that this is a matter that concerns only the Russians are profoundly wrong. The safety of all civilization and the chance for enduring peace depend on that liberation. . . . This book is my appeal to the democratic conscience of America and the world." The "liberation" which Kravchenko and his kind desire was attempted by Winston Churchill in 1918-19 and by the Axis in 1941. Goebbels and Rosenberg were even more eloquent. Hitler and Mussolini were far more potent. "Liberation" may be attempted again. But it will not bring freedom to Russia or security to the West. It will bring only the vaporization of most of modern mankind.

FREDERICK L. SCHUMAN

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The Nuclear Scientists Speak

One World or None, edited by Dexter Masters and Katharine Way. New York: Whittlesey House. 79 pages. \$1.

THE SCIENTISTS chiefly responsible for the development of nuclear fission and its use in the atom bomb here tell the rest of us the essential facts about the discovery. All the great names are present, from Albert Einstein to Niels Bohr and Arthur Compton, plus one or two who can contribute knowledge from other related fields, like Harlow Shapley and Walter Lippmann. Withholding only military secrets, they describe the basic discoveries, the process of experiment and development, the effects of the bomb, the little that is now known concerning the possible use of nuclear energy as a source of mechanical power, the apparent impossibility of defense against the bomb, the degree to which the weapon is a secret, the ease with which this secret may be discovered by other nations and the probability that bombs can be produced elsewhere within five or six years. All this is now widely known, though the authentic information from the top authorities, extraordinarily well written as it is, is worth reading for its own sake.

The main purpose of most of the authors is to enlighten us concerning what should be done to avoid the peril. Few will need further proof that the way out is not to attempt to keep the secret and to hold the bomb over other nations as a threat of what will happen to them if they cross our will or as a punishment for failure to be good world citizens. Isolationist self-defense is clearly no answer.

The conclusion which the reader is intended to draw is indicated by the title—that another war must be prevented at all costs and that this can be achieved only by world government. The scientists are not dogmatic on this point, but they emphasize that a decision must soon be reached.

Obviously something must be done, and quickly. The utmost possible energy must be devoted to finding a solution. It would be a mistake, however, to suppose that we are now in a position to discover this solution with the same scientific precision which has made possible the release of atomic energy. The evidence here presented by the physicists leaves great gaps in the knowledge which would be required for a truly scientific attack on the problem.

They tell us about the bomb, but not about other new weapons, still military secrets, which may be even more deadly and difficult to cope with. The type of international inspection adequate to police the bomb might be totally unsuited to inhibit the preparation of other new devices. This missing evidence, to be sure, merely emphasizes the point that we must preserve peace.

But the knowledge of human nature and politics basic to a scientific formula for the preservation of peace is not comparable with the knowledge of physics, and that which exists is but dimly mirrored in this volume. What is required is an equally serious and considered mobilization of intelligence on the problems and dangers of international government, on the obstacles which must be overcome if it is to be achieved and on the possible substitutes if it cannot be achieved—or is not, after further reflection, thought desirable.

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A Reader's List

Planning No. 247: Imports—What Can We Afford? (Political and Economic Planning. Available through the New Republic, 25 cents). Reconstruction of international trade, says PEP, must be based upon an equitable distribution of international purchasing power. Yet the countries which need goods cannot pay for them, and those which can, neither need them nor want them. The bulk of international purchasing power is held by the United States, and unless we accede to a redistribution, either by lending money or by taking imports, a high level of postwar trade will remain the economist's dream. Britain, however, must continue to limit imports; the editors visualize a reduction of at least £75 million by 1948. Limitation of food imports, raw materials and machinery are carefully analyzed and American products, the editors observe, will be particularly hard-hit. PEP does not admire this stringent policy; it is enforced by the burden of war. The dangerous impact of a restrictive import program on other nations is recognized, yet austerity and rigor must be adopted if Britain is to avoid bankruptcy in international trade.

The Engineer in Society, by John Mills (Van Nostrand, \$2.50). The title of this book properly describes only one-fifth of its contents—three reflective essays on the governmental licensing of engineers, the role of the engineer in society and the organization of engineers for economic and social ends. The remainder of the volume is concerned with the engineer in the industrial-research laboratory, with reference to vocational aptitudes, the role of the research executive, the salary of the research engineer and the technique of technical writing. While the viewpoint is generally progressive, the lay reader will find little of compelling interest.

Mr. K's first bullfight was one of the old-fashioned type, where the picadors' horses wore no protectors. He sat in the stands next to Marc Chagall, the French painter, who was there with Madame Chagall. When the first horse was ripped and gored by the bull, Madame Chagall leaped to her feet, seized her artist husband by the scruff of his neck and dragged him away. Mr. K sweated out the bloody demise of twelve horses and six bulls, gradually growing more concerned about the state of his lunch, until finally the spectacle became too gory even for the crowd. It broke up with boos, arguments in the stands and general shouts of "Assassin, assassin!"

A typographical error in the April 22 Political Roundup resulted in our calling former Representative Fred E. Busbey of Illinois a progressive. He is anything but. The appellation was meant for his defeated opponent.

Contributors to this issue not otherwise identified are:

William Harlan Hale, editor and free-lance writer, was a civilian official engaged in psychological-warfare operations for SHAEF and in collaboration with the several Army Groups until the end of the campaign.

Harry Levin is an associate professor of English Literature at Harvard. His most recent work is a critical study of Stendhal, appearing in the current number of the magazine *Pharos*, distributed by New Directions.

Frederick L. Schuman is the Woodrow Wilson Professor of Government at Williams College. His new book, *Soviet Politics at Home and Abroad*, was recently published by Knopf.

New Republic News

During an editorial conference this week, Mr. Kelen, who is the right-handed member of the Derso-Kelen team, described for us the first bullfight he had ever seen (see pp. 656-7). It was staged one summer day in Bayonne, France, during the middle twenties. There was a local ordinance prohibiting bullfights. The town inhabitants agreed that this was moral and right, while concurring in the general conclusion that a contest between a graceful matador and a roaring, angry bull was something to stir the blood of any Frenchman.

A finesse through the difficulty was found. Before the arena was opened to the public, the bullfight promoter went to the Hotel de Ville and paid the ten-franc fine (\$2 at the time) with a bow and a flourish. The mayor of Bayonne then put on his top hat and his best black suit and marched to the arena to open the gates officially. With the moral and legal matters attended to, the show went on.

THE NEW REPUBLIC

A Journal of Opinion

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